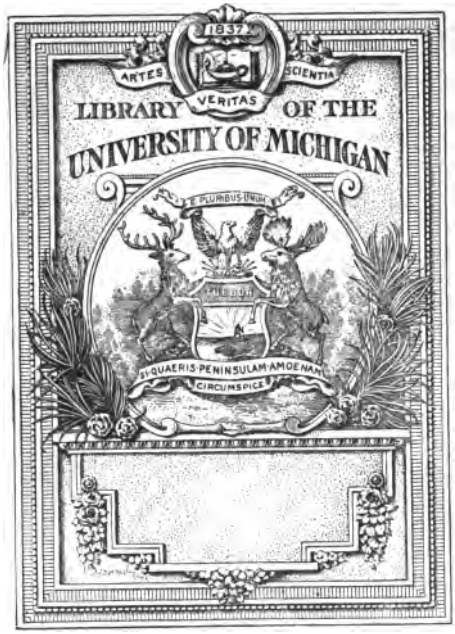
1837
ARTES
VERITAS
SCIENTIA
LIBRARY OF THE
UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN
E PLURIBUS UNUM
TUEBOR
SI QUAERIS PENINSULAM AMOENAM
CIRCUMSPICE

STUDIES AND NOTES

IN

PHILOLOGY AND LITERATURE

VOL. VII

PUBLISHED UNDER THE DIRECTION OF THE
MODERN LANGUAGE DEPARTMENTS OF HARVARD UNIVERSITY
BY GINN & COMPANY, TREMONT PLACE, BOSTON
1900

CONTENTS.

THE OLD SPANISH SIBILANTS.[1]

In the standard modern Spanish, the language of Castile, the only signs denoting sibilant sounds are *ch*, *s*, and *x* (when popularly pronounced *s*).[2] In the older speech this particular class of consonants was much more extensive and embraced sounds which now show little or no traces of their former quality. Altogether, Old Spanish had seven different sibilant sounds, represented by the following signs: *c* or *ç* before *e*, *i*; *ç* before *a*, *o*, *u*; *z*; *s*; *ss*; *x*; *g* before *e*, *i*; *j*; *ch*.

In general it may be said that the sibilant nature of these Old Spanish signs needs little demonstration, being well vouched for by the testimony of grammarians, who, of necessity, had to define them as they best could, and by the practices common to the Arabic and Jewish portions of the Spanish-speaking people, who, writing Spanish with Arabic or Hebrew characters, used sibilant signs for all these sounds. The most important of the utterances of the grammarians have been collected by the eminent lexicographer Cuervo, whose article, *Disquisiciones sobre antigua ortografía y pronunciación castellanas* (*Revue hispanique*, II, 1 ff.), appeared while the present treatise was in course of preparation, and has been its chief source of information as to this particular evidence. Only a few confirmatory notices can be added as a supplement to his citations. The conditions exhibited by texts written in Hebrew and Arabic characters will be set forth with the minuteness that has seemed necessary and

---

[1] The following dissertation, presented in candidacy for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy at Harvard University in 1897, embodies the results of studies pursued under Professor E. S. Sheldon. For his invaluable direction and kindly advice I cannot be sufficiently grateful. My sincere thanks are also due to Professors Kittredge, Grandgent, and Marcou, who, with Professor Sheldon, have been good enough to read the proof-sheets.

[2] This essay is concerned only with the Castilian sounds. Andalusian and other dialect peculiarities are only incidentally considered.

that has been rendered possible by Morf's careful edition of the *aljamiado Poema de José* and by Foulché-Delbosc's investigations in Hebrew-Spanish.[1]

But the first endeavor will be to ascertain the parts played in Old Spanish by the individual sibilants. Certain of the characters, as, for example, *c* (before *e*, *i*) and *z*, have now a common value and it might be supposed that they had a common function in the earlier period of the language. Such a supposition would, however, be false, being contrary to the statements of grammarians and to the presumptions raised by the different sources of the individual sounds. In truth, with the exception of *g* (before *e*, *i*) and *j*, which had apparently one and the same sound, the sibilant signs were kept carefully apart in Old Spanish texts, because, deriving from different sources, they had different, though in certain cases related, values. Disregarding *ch*, which has preserved its Old Spanish sound (*tš*), and presents no difficulties in its history, we shall find that there were four classes of sibilants:

(1) the dental sibilants *z* and *ç*,[2] which were not interchangeable, but were rigidly kept asunder, because one was, in general, the voiced (*dz*), and the other the voiceless (*ts*) form of the same sound.

(2) the simple sibilants *s* and *ss*, the latter always voiceless, the former both voiced and voiceless.

(3) the voiceless palatal sibilant *x* = *š*.

---

[1] Portuguese ought also to shed some light upon the older conditions of Spanish phonology, but the insufficiency of reliable Old Portuguese texts has rendered it impracticable to make the desired use of that language. Valuable information about the Portuguese sibilants — especially those of Tras-os-Montes — and their relation to the Old Spanish sibilants will be found in articles by Gonçalves Vianna, printed in *Romania*, XII, and *Revista Lusitana*, II. See below, p. 111, note 3. On Tras-os-Montes peculiarities, see J. Leite de Vasconcellos, *O dialecto mirandez* (Porto, 1883). For interesting remarks on Andalusian sounds and an incidental consideration of Old Spanish sibilants, cf. Vianna in *O Positivismo*, IV, 71 ff., reviewing Schuchardt's *Cantes flamencos* (*Ztschr. f. rom. Phil.*, V).

[2] *Ç* will be used both before *a*, *o*, *u* and before *e*, *i*, as the cedilla usually appears in Old Spanish even in the latter cases. It must be [illegible] ever, that the *Altspanische Glossen*, the *Misterio*, and the *Fragmento* [illegible] cedilla at all, and the *Laberinto*, following the modern custom, d[illegible] *e*, *i*. In the other texts the cedilla is sometimes omitted before [illegible]

(4) the compound sound made up of a voiced dental + a voiced palatal sibilant, *j*, *g* (*e*, *i*), = *dž*.

Of these there remains in modern Spanish only the second class, which has also been reduced to but one form, the voiceless *s*. The sibilants of the first class have become the interdental spirant þ; those of the third and fourth classes, the guttural spirant χ.

To make obvious the well-observed distinctions in the use of these Old Spanish sibilant characters, it will be necessary to examine the graphic conditions of Old Spanish texts. Unfortunately, the number of texts available for our purposes is rather limited, since a tendency on the part of the editors of most Old Spanish monuments towards modernizing the aspect of the works has impaired their usefulness as phonetic documents. Hence we must confine our attention to texts which have had editors aware of their scientific value, and which are therefore conscientious reproductions of the manuscripts. Those used for the present investigation are:

Altspanische Glossen, ed. J. Priebsch, *Ztschr. f. rom. Phil.*, XIX, 1 ff.[1] — 11th century MS.

El Misterio de los reyes magos, ed. G. Baist, Erlangen, 1887. See Lidforss in *Jahrb. f. rom. und eng. Lit.*, XII, 45, on the date of the MS., which is either the 12th or the 13th century, and Hartmann, *Ueber das altspanische Dreikönigsspiel*, Bautzen, 1879, pp. 46 ff.

The *Poème d'amour* and the *Débat du vin et de l'eau*, ed. A. Morel-Fatio, *Romania*, XVI, 364 ff.[2] — 13th century MS.

The *Fragmento de un poema castellano antiguo*, ed. Octavio de Toledo, *Ztschr. f. rom. Phil.*, II, 60 ff.; see especially p. 44. — 13th century MS.

El Poema del Cid, ed. K. Vollmöller, Halle, 1879.[3] See *Bibl. de autores españoles*, LVII, p. xv. — 14th century MS.

---

[1] See corrections by R. Menéndez Pidal in *Revista crítica de historia y literatura españolas, portuguesas é hispano-americanas*, Madrid, April, 1895. Cf. *Romania*, XXVI, 148.

[2] The prose piece *De los diez mandamientos*, which Morel-Fatio also prints in *Romania*, XVI, 379 ff., has not been utilized here because it is decidedly Aragonese in its peculiarities; see *ibid.*, p. 367.

[3] Other available editions of the *Cid* are those of E. Lidforss, Lund, 1895, published in the *Acta Universitatis Lundensis*, tom. XXXI, pp. 77 ff., of Menéndez Pidal, Madrid, 1898, and of A. Huntington, New York.

The *Vision de Filiberto*, ed. Octavio de Toledo, *Ztschr. f. rom. Phil.*, II, 40 ff. — 14th century MS.[1]

Don Juan Manuel, *El Libro del Cauallero et del Escudero*, ed. S. Gräfenberg, *Rom. Forschungen*, VII, 427 ff.; see especially p. 446. — 15th century MS.

Disputa del Cuerpo e del Anima, ed. Octavio de Toledo, *Ztschr. f. rom. Phil.*, II, 63 ff.; see *ibid.*, p. 47. — 15th century MS.

Don Juan Manuel, *El Libro de la Caza*, ed. G. Baist, Halle, 1880. — 15th century MS.

Ein spanisches Steinbuch, ed. K. Vollmöller, Heilbronn, 1880. — 15th century MS.

La estoria del rey Anemur e de Iosaphat e de Barlaam, ed. F. Lauchert, *Rom. Forschungen*, VII, 331 ff. — 15th century MS.

El Laberinto Amoroso, ed. K. Vollmöller, *Rom. Forschungen*, VI, 89 ff. This is a reproduction of a printed book of Barcelona, 1618.[2]

---

[1] The *Vision* is found in the MS. of the *Cantares del Arcipreste de Hita*, formerly preserved at Toledo and now in Madrid, and is in script of the same date; see l.c., p. 42. The MS. of the *Arcipreste* is of the 14th century; see *Bibl. de autores españoles*, LVII, p. xxxi.

[2] In referring to these works, the following shortened titles and abbreviations will be used: *Misterio*, *Poème*, *Débat*, *Fragmento*, *Cid*, *Vision*, *C. & E.* (= *Libro del Cauallero et del Escudero*), *Disputa*, *Caza*, *Stb.* (= *Ein spanisches Steinbuch*), *A. J. & B.* (= *La estoria del rey Anemur*, etc.), *Lab.* (= *El Laberinto Amoroso*). The references will relate to the gloss number of the *Altspanische Glossen*, line number of the *Poème* and the *Débat*, verse number of the *Cid*, stanza (stz.) and line number of the *Disputa*, song and line number of the *Lab.*, and page and line number of the other texts. A number standing alone after a word will indicate its frequency of occurrence in the particular text. The *Libro de Cetrería*, etc., published by A. Paz y Melia, in *Ztschr. f. rom. Phil.*, I, 222 ff., has not been used, because it writes the probably erroneous *s* for *z*. Another good text from the same MS. as the *A. J. & B.* has just appeared — the *Estoria de los quatro doctores de* [illegible] *eglesia*, ed. F. Lauchert, Halle, 1897. Graphically it does not var[illegible] *A. J. & B.* The change of *enlaze* to *ensalze*, suggested by Lauchert, [illegible] unnecessary and phonetically impossible. The verb is *enlazar*, whi[illegible] has *z* in Old Spanish; the word proposed as a substitute could h[illegible] coming from *ex-altiare*. The texts in Menéndez Pidal's excellent *Ley[illegible] Infantes de Lara* were not available early enough for the purposes of th[illegible] treatise.

I. Z AND Ç.

1. *Z.*

(*A*) Old Spanish *z* from Latin intervocalic c (*e*, *i*).

In the earliest texts here examined, the *z* sometimes appears, but the etymological spelling prevails. So the *Altspanische Glossen* (11th century) have no. 172 *meretrize* and no. 260 *mortizino* mortĭcīnus, but also 173 *facet*, 102 *facen*, 28, 34, 118, 136, 210 *ficieret*, 110 *placet*, 248 *dicere*, 47 *ducere* (Latin word?), 207 *pacifiket*, 253 *bicinos*, 166 *uece*, 42 *omiciero*. The *Misterio* (12th or 13th century) writes p. 1, l. 19 and 2, 26 *dezid*, 2, 8 *dizeremos*, 2, 15 *dizremos*, 2, 12 *dizen*, 2, 24 *dezir*, 2, 31 *dezimos*, and again 2, 10 *decides*, 2, 11 *decid*, 1, 6 *december*, 1, 9 and 2, 13 *pace*, 1, 12 *facīda*, 2, 16 *face*, 2, 24 *iace*, 2, 25 *place*. The *Poème* and the *Débat* (both 13th century) use *z* with much greater frequency. The *Poème* has l. 102 *fiz*, 34 and 73 *fiziese*, 36 *fizies*, 125 *fiziera*, 62 *naryz*, 77 *voz*, 106 *dezit*, 108 *diz*, 110 and 114 *dize*, 90 *dizen*, 98 *dizia*, and only three cases of the etymological spelling, 78 *deçia*, 84 *deçir*, 56 *doncela*. The *Débat* has l. 8 *fazes*, 87 *faze*, 91 *fazen*, 61 *fazedes*, 24 *suzia*, 42 and 45 *dizes*, 86 and 92 *dize*, 54 *diziendo*, 53 *iaze*, and but two cases of *ç*, l. 18 *façedes*, 43 *plaçe*. Finally, the *Fragmento* (13th century) presents conditions similar to those of the *Poème* and the *Débat*, having p. 60, l. 1 *dezir*, *dizre*, 61, ll. 3, 4 *maldizie*, 61, 5 *maldizre*, 61, 1 *jazia*, 61, 3 *fazie* (*ter*), 61, 8 *fazies*, 61, 6 *diez*, and writing *ç* only twice in p. 61, ll. 5, 7 *fecist*.

From the 14th century on, our texts show the *z* almost invariably, as the following exhaustive list will demonstrate. The exceedingly few exceptions are noted in every instance.

auze (= *avicem, see *Romania*, X, 76). *Cid*, vv. 1523, 2366, 2369.
ayrezitos. *Lab.*, no. 15, v. 1.
azevos (= aquifolium, L. L. acifolium, see Meyer-Lübke, *Gramm.*, I, § 501). *C. & E.*, p. 509, l. 12.
azeyte. *Stb.*, p. 14, l. 5; 18, 20; 19, 15.
Beatriz. *Caza*, p. 46, l. 4.
ciznes. *C. & E.*, p. 504, l. 3. By the side of this solitary form with *z*, which should regularly be developed from the *c* of a Lat. *cicen, cicinus (see *Archiv f. lat. Lexikographie*, I, 545), occurs the mod-

ern *cisne*, which is found once in the *Vision*, p. 52, l. 15, twice in the *Lab.*, 43, 4; 73, 21, and once in the *A. J. & B.*, p. 369, l. 39.[1]

codornizes (coturnicem). *C. & E.*, p. 502, l. 17; 503, 18; 504, 28. *Caza*, *codornizes*, p. 69, l. 6, *guadarniz*, p. 43, l. 17. As to *guadarniz*, cf. Baist, *Caza*, p. 113, and *Rom. Forschungen*, I, 142. In the latter place he says: "*Guadarniz* ist ein berechtigter Verwandter von *Quaglia*, etc., durch coturnix beeinflusst."

coquedrizes (= cocatrices). *C. & E.*, p. 497, l. 1.

cozer (= coquere, L. L. * cocere; cf. Meyer-Lübke, *Gramm.*, I, § 501). *A. J. & B.*, p. 369, l. 14. *Stb.*, *cozido*, p. 32, l. 17.

cozina, *cozyna*. *Cid*, vv. 1017, 2064. *Vision*, p. 52, l. 14.

cruz. *Cid*, *cruz*, vv. 348, 351, *cruzes*, v. 1582. *A. J. & B.*, *cruz* 14 (p. 336, ll. 16, 17; 344, 36; etc.). *Lab.*, *cruz*, no. 27, v. 15.

dezeno (= *decenum). *Cid*, v. 1210. *C. & E.*, p. 491, l. 9. *A. J. & B.*, p. 332, l. 26.

diezmo (= decimum). *Cid*, v. 1798.

diez. *Stb.*, p. 6, l. 14; 7, 7. *C. & E.*, p. 489, l. 34; 490, 19. *A. J. & B.*, p. 350, l. 10. *Lab.*, no. 17, v. 30; 55, 20.

dezir and parts.[2] *Cid* 64 (vv. 19, 30, 129, 347, 389, etc.), *bendiziendo*, v. 541. *Vision* 31 (p. 51, ll. 10, 37; 52, 19; etc.). *Stb.* 34 (p. 4, ll. 3, 16; 6, ll. 4, 9, 14, 21, etc.). *Disputa*, stz. III, v. 5; IV, 5; VIII, 6; XI, 7; XII, 3. *C. & E.* 81 (p. 443, ll. 5, 14, 15; 444, ll. 1, 17, 18; etc.). *Caza* 181 (p. 1, l. 10; 2, 1; 3, ll. 9, 10, 12, 16; etc.), but *desir* once (p. 44, l. 1). *Lab.* 42 (no. 2, vv. 13, 29, 32; 3, 4; 8, 25; etc.). *A. J. & B.* 128 (p. 332, l. 15; 335, ll. 19, 37; 336, 9; etc.); *contradezir*, etc., p. 365, l. 39; 371, 35; 372, 3; *bendezir*, etc., p. 366, l. 14; 373, 41; 374, 2; 383, 13; 387, ll. 23, 25; 392, 5).

donzella. *Lab.*, no. 56, v. 52; 72, 47.

doze. *Stb.*, p. 24, ll. 3, 9. *C. & E.*, p. 445, l. 2. *Caza*, p. 4, l. 7; 44, 6.

---

[1] A similar instance of the apparent change of *z* to *s* before a nasal is the *çisme* of *C. & E.*, p. 497, l. 15, and 502, 13, which the editor would unnecessarily change to *çinife*. The word may represent cīmicem (see Körting, *Wörterb.*, s.v. cimex), which through **cimze*, with a metathesis giving **cizme*, may have become *cisme*.

[2] "*Dezir* and parts," or "*dezir*, etc.": i.e. to obviate the necessity of quoting each of the numerous verb forms, the infinitive will usually be taken as the norm of the verb.

dozientos. *Cid*, vv. 917, 1564, 1813, 1817, 1854, 1868, 2652, 2672, 3246; but v. 1490 *doçientos.*

duraznales (cf. **duracinum**). *C. & E.*, p. 509, l. 6.

(*a*)*duzir*, etc. *Cid*, *aduzir*, etc., vv. 144, 263, 641, 1019, 1469, 1650, 1864, 3242, 3582. *Stb.*, *produze*, p. 2, l. 29; 4, 24; 15, 4; 33, 10, *reduzidor*, p. 6, l. 1. *A. J. & B.*, *aduzir*, etc., 22 (p. 333, l. 39; 336, ll. 7, 23; etc.); *enduzen* 9 (p. 369, l. 38; 370, ll. 4, 11, 13; etc.); *enduzido*, p. 332, l. 29; 370, 16.

enzinas. *C. & E.*, p. 509, l. 1. Probably a formation from **ilicem**. The *Caza* has, p. 15, l. 16, *enzimares*, emended by Baist to *enzinares*, which must be connected with *enzina.*

fazer, etc. *Cid* 81 (vv. 139, 223, 252, 285, 331, etc.). *Vision* 52 (p. 51, ll. 18, 29, 42; 53, ll. 7, 23, 25; etc.), but p. 56, l. 42 *fasia*, 60, 6 *fasian.* *Stb.* 32 (p. 2, l. 19; 3, ll. 7, 10; 5, ll. 6, 24; etc.); *desfaze*, p. 32, l. 28. *Disputa* 9 (stz. III, v. 6; IV, 4; V, 5; etc.). *C. & E.* 371 (p. 443, ll. 1, 2, 5, 9, 10, 13, 17; 444, ll. 2, 8, 12; etc.); *fazienda* 18 (p. 462, l. 6; 465, ll. 2, 7; etc.); *desfazer*, etc., p. 488, ll. 20, 22; 514, 25; *desfazimiento*, p. 511, l. 33; but p. 461, l. 4 *facer*, p. 482, l. 16 *feciestes.* *Caza* 253 (p. 1, ll. 4, 6, 7, 11, 14, 16; 2, ll. 2, 10, 11; etc.), but p. 28, l. 14 *faser*, p. 43, l. 19 *fisiera.* *A. J. & B.* 191 (p. 333, l. 40; 334, ll. 19, 22; 335, ll. 12, 31; etc.); *fazedor* and *bienfazedor* 23 (p. 340, l. 19; 342, 6; 344, 21; etc.); *fazedera*, p. 349, l. 46; *desfazer*, etc., p. 341, l. 19; 352, 40; 355, 42; 386, 30; *fazimiento* 10 (p. 344, l. 30; 353, ll. 8, 9, 11; etc.); *faziendas*, p. 351, l. 22; but p. 392, l. 32 *feçieron.* *Lab.* 52 (no. 3, vv. 4, 8, 21; 4, 45; etc.); *deshaziendo*, no. 8, v. 14; *haziendа*, no. 72, vv. 11, 20, 49.

fez (= **faecem**). *A. J. & B.*, p. 336, l. 5.

foz. *Caza*, p. 84, l. 22 *foz;* p. 88, l. 15 *hozes;* p. 74, l. 1 and p. 76, l. 1 *faz*, emended by Baist to *foz.* These four cases of the word have the sense of 'defile,' and point to **faucem**. A variant form is p. 78, l. 9 and p. 88, l. 23 *fos.*

iazer, etc. *Cid*, vv. 393, 437, 618, 785, 1209, 1463, 1613, 2280, 2635, 2702, 2869. *Vision*, *yazes*, p. 51, ll. 23, 26; 56, 3. *Stb.*, *yaziente*, p. 10, l. 13. *C. & E.*, *yazen*, p. 503, l. 27. *Caza*, *yazen*, p. 35, l. 30; 36, ll. 1, 26. *A. J. & B.*, *yazer*, etc., p. 369, l. 2; 378, 29; 388, 36; *yazida* (noun), p. 363, l. 37; 366, 10; 377, 7; 385, 34.

juez. *Stb.*, p. 20, l. 15. *C. & E.*, p. 518, l. 30, and *juezes* p. 518, l. 34. *A. J. & B.*, p. 383, l. 12. *Lab.*, *juezes*, no. 21, v. 7.

lazartos (**lacertam**, 'lizard'; cf. modern *lagarto*). *C. & E.*, p. 497, ll. 8, 9.

laz(d)rar, etc. *Cid*, *lazrado*, vv. 1045, 2802. *Disputa*, *lazdrar*, stz. V, l. 8. *C. & E.*, *lazrada*, p. 465, l. 27; *lazeria*, p. 450, l. 15; 463, 25. *Caza*, *lazdrar*, p. 66, l. 21; *lazerio*, 66, 25; *lazeria*, 59, 26. The noun *lazerio*, *lazeria* may be a derivative from **Lazarus**. The verb *laz(d)rar* probably comes from **lacerare**.[1]

lonbrizes. *Vision*, p. 52, l. 17. *Caza*, p. 59, l. 6; 61, 30; 62, ll. 5, 11, 15, 16, 17. The only Latin source actually found is **lumbricus**, but the Spanish and other Romance forms of the word indicate the existence of a ***lumbrix**, ***lumbricem**; see Meyer-Lübke, *Gramm.*, II, § 17.

luz. *Vision*, *luz*, p. 58, l. 30; *rreluzian*, p. 57, l. 41; but p. 57, l. 42 *rrelusyan.* *Stb.*, *luz* (noun), p. 16, l. 16; 22, 27; 23, 29; 31, ll. 16, 28; *luze* (verb), p. 9, ll. 5, 14; 24, 8; 27, 24; *reluze*, p. 9, l. 5; 23, 8; *reluzen*, p. 31, l. 12; *reluziente*, p. 6, l. 16; 33, 14; *trasluziente*, p. 24, l. 21; 26, 25; 31, 12. *A. J. & B.*, *luz* 15 (p. 344, l. 9; 345, 16; etc.); *luziendo*, p. 349, l. 15; *luzible*, p. 365, l. 26; 379, 19. *Lab.*, *luz* 21 (no. 1, v. 3; 4, 11; etc.); *luzes* (pl. noun), no. 1, v. 16; 4, 1; 11, 26; 16, ll. 5, 10; 24, 34; 47, 34; *luzeros*, no. 23, v. 28; *luzen*, no. 27, v. 26; 32, 1; *luziente*, no. 31, v. 25.

manzilla. *Vision*, *amanzyllada*, p. 53, l. 37. *Stb.*, *manzilla*, p. 5, l. 4; 10, 5; 11, 2; 18, 14; *manzillados*, 18, 23. From ***macellam** for **maculam**. The inserted *n*, whether due to the influence of **mancus** or not,[2] did not hinder the development of a voiced sibilant after it,[3] or did not enter into the word until after the assibilation of the intervocalic *c*.

melezina. *Stb.*, p. 8, ll. 2, 7; 14, 10; 20, 30; *melezinantes*, p. 31, l. 9.

---

[1] See *Grundriss*, I, 707, § 54, and *Ztschr. f. rom. Phil.*, XIX, 36.

[2] Cf. Gröber in *Archiv f. lat. Lexikographie*, III, 519.

[3] Cf. below, pp. 27 ff., 30 ff. In *mancha* = **maculam**, the *n* seems to have prevented the development of a voiced sound; see below, p. 18. It is not safe, therefore, to say that *n* allowed the development of a voiced sound after it.

Caza 23 (p. 5, l. 7; 15, ll. 7, 9; 47, 19; etc.; *melezima*, p. 53, l. 14, is a mistake for *melezina*); *melezinar*, p. 53, l. 30; 55, 10; 65, 6 (*meleszinar*, p. 59, l. 5, must be a mere error). The *Stb.* has also the learned forms *mediçina*, p. 32, l. 20, and *mediçinal*, p. 32, l. 18.

narizes. *Vision*, p. 52, l. 22; 57, 38; 59, 38; 60, 22. *Caza*, p. 56, l. 26. *Lab.*, no. 62, v. 14.

oniz. *Stb.*, p. 12, ll. 27, 28; 13, 10.

pastorzillo (= * pastoricellum; see below, p. 38). *Lab.*, no. 39, v. 2; 70, 2.

paz. *Cid*, vv. 527, 978, 1308, 1464, 1525, 2329, 3139, 3385. *C. & E.*, p. 450, l. 4; 458, 3; 510, 32; 514, 4; 518, 29. *A. J. & B.* 7 (p. 359, l. 11; 360, 12; etc.). *Lab.*, *pazes*, no. 74, v. 1.

pecadriz. *A. J. & B.*, p. 373, l. 39.

perdizes (pl.). *Vision*, p. 52, l. 15. *C. & E.*, p. 500, l. 28; 502, 17; 503, 18. *Caza*, p. 6, ll. 2, 9; 17, 20; 69, 6; 72, ll. 21, 27; 85, ll. 9, 15; 86, 24.

pez (= picem). *Vision*, p. 57, l. 35. *A. J. & B.*, p. 343, ll. 25, 30.

plazer, etc. *Cid* 34 (vv. 180, 539, 625, 626, etc.). *Vision* 8 (p. 52, ll. 20, 34; 55, 45; etc.). *Stb.*, p. 5, l. 7; 18, 2; 20, 24; 22, 14. *C. & E.* 40 (p. 443, ll. 1, 13; 444, 21; etc.); *plazentero*, p. 464, ll. 3, 5; but p. 462, l. 5 *plaçer*. *Caza* 20 (p. 7, ll. 4, 7, 8, 13, 23; 16, 23; etc.); *plazentero*, p. 6, l. 3; 7, 29; 86, 22; *plazenteria*, p. 16, l. 23. *A. J. & B.*, p. 334, l. 30; 351, 23; 357, 34; 389, 13; *plazibles*, p. 372, l. 35. *Lab.*, p. 40, ll. 22, 32; 70, 52.

plazo (= placitum). *Cid*, vv. 212, 306, 309, 321, 392, 414, 1208, 2970, 3000, 3468, 3480, 3483, 3533, 3534. *Lab.*, no. 8, v. 31.

quatorze. *C. & E.*, p. 483, l. 16; 490, 1.

quinze. *Cid*, vv. 291, 472, 798, 2251. *Caza*, p. 40, l. 12; 50, 6; 61, 15.

rrapaz (= rapacem?). *Cid*, v. 3289.

rrayz. *C. & E.*, p. 489, ll. 9, 14, 19. *A. J. & B.*, p. 339, l. 20; 342, 22; 349, 20; 356, 30; 374, 17. *Caza*, p. 3, l. 9; 53, 20.

rrezar, etc. *Cid*, v. 238. *A. J. & B.*, p. 357, l. 38. *Lab.*, no. 65, vv. 13, 15, 20, 54.

rrezien. *A. J. & B.*, *rrezientemente*, p. 352, l. 27. *Lab.*, *rezien*, no. 49, v. 2.

salzes (salicem). *C. & E.*, p. 509, l. 13.

senziella (* simplicellum). *C. & E.*, p. 494, l. 2 (*bis*). Instead of Diez's etymon *simplicellus, Cornu (*Romania*, IX, 137) has proposed * singellus from singulus.[1]

suzio (sucidum). *Cid*, v. 2291. *Vision*, p. 53, l. 2; 55, 13; 57, 39; 59, 17; *ensuziada*, p. 51, l. 33 (the text has *en fuziada*); but p. 59, l. 25 *susyos*. *Stb.*, *suziedades*, p. 8, l. 6. *A. J. & B.*, p. 342, l. 44; 346, 6; 365, 21; 372, 31; 378, 13; 384, 40; *suzidat*, p. 378, l. 20; 369, 11; *ensuziar*, etc., 11 (p. 336, l. 18; 342, 10; etc.); *suziamente*, p. 381, l. 8. *Lab.*, *ensuziar*, no. 62, v. 79.

trezientos. *Cid*, vv. 419, 723, 2103.

uazio (= vacivum). *Cid*, vv. 4, 997, 3627, 3676. *A. J. & B.*, p. 350, l. 25. *Lab.*, no. 36, v. 76; 39, 17; 62, 24.

veloz. *Lab.*, no. 13, v. 34.

uez, *bez*, *vez*. *Cid*, *vezes*, v. 1626. *Vision*, *uezes*, p. 53, ll. 23, 24. *Stb.*, *uez*, p. 33, ll. 12, 17; *uezes*, p. 4, l. 15; 5, 1; 14, 23; 15, 15; 21, 6; 32, 25; but p. 28, l. 5 *ueçes*. *C. & E.*, *vez*, p. 447, l. 19; 450, 21; *uezes* 20 (p. 444, ll. 27, 28; 447, 2; etc.). *A. J. & B.*, *vez*, p. 339, l. 11; 341, 16; 359, 43 (text has *boz*); 360, 1; 379, 7; 391, 12; *vezes*, p. 348, l. 29; 370, 24; 387, 27. *Lab.*, *vez* 9 (no. 10, vv. 3, 13, 23, etc.); *vezes* 9 (no. 13, v. 20; 18, 6; 32, 3; 36, 49; etc.). *Caza*, *vez* 12 (p. 21, ll. 12, 16; 23, 18; 28, 25; etc.); *vezes* 57 (p. 6, ll. 4, 15; 7, 11; 14, 28; etc.); the form *veces*, p. 65, l. 26, is supplied by Baist to fill out a lacuna in the text.

uezino. *Cid*, *uezindad*, v. 567. *Stb.*, *uezino*, p. 10, l. 10; 14, 24. *A. J. & B.*, *vezino*, p. 347, l. 29; 356, 39; 361, 24. *Lab.*, *vezindad*, no. 49, v. 43.

uoz, *boz*, *voz*. *Cid*, *boz*, vv. 3167, 3211; *uozes*, vv. 35, 719, 3292; but v. 3663 *voces*. *Vision*, *boz*, p. 56, l. 31. *Disputa*, *voz*, stz. III, v. 2. *C. & E.*, *vozes*, p. 444, l. 7. *A. J. & B.*, *boz*, *voz* 18 (p. 341, l. 41; 343, 10; 345, 22; etc.); *bozes*, *uozes* 8 (p. 355, l. 26; 375, 30; etc.). *Lab.*, *voz* 9 (no. 2, v. 20; 14, 40; 18, 38; etc.); *vozes*, no. 40, v. 42; 46, 20. *Caza*, *voz*, p. 22, l. 15; *vozes* 16 (p. 20, ll. 25, 27; 22, 17; etc.); but *voses* three times (p. 20, ll. 11, 24; p. 27, l. 27; p. 29, l. 18).[2]

---

[1] See *Ztschr. f. rom. Phil.*, IV, 475, and below, p. 28.

[2] Add to this list, *traduzir* (traducere), *onzeno* (*undecenum), *dezimo* and

This long list of examples furnishes abundant proof of the fact that a Latin c, after a vowel and before an *e* or *i* not in hiatus, produced a *z* in Old Spanish. The only exceptions are: — *C. & E.*, p. 461, l. 4, *facer;* p. 482, l. 16, *ficiestes;* p. 462, l. 5, *plaçer: A. J. & B.*, p. 392, l. 32, *feçieron: Stb.*, p. 28, l. 5, *ueçes: Cid*, v. 3663, *voces: Caza*, p. 44, l. 1, *desir;* p. 28, l. 14, *faser;* p. 43, l. 19, *fisiera;* p. 78, l. 9, and p. 88, l. 23, *fos; voses* three times (p. 20, ll. 11, 24; p. 27, l. 27; p. 29, l. 18): *Vision*, p. 56, l. 42, *fasia;* p. 60, l. 6, *fasian;* p. 59, l. 25, *susyos;* p. 57, l. 42, *rrelusyan;* p. 52, l. 13, *mortesynas.* These exceptions are relatively so inconsiderable in number that they may be regarded as mere mistakes, or as dialectical variations on the part of scribes. Baist, *Caza*, p. 207, explains *fisiera* as a typographical error for *fiziera*, and states that Old Spanish *z* never became *s*, the appearance of the latter sign in printed texts being due to a misreading of the manuscripts, in which it is often hard to distinguish a *z* from the short cursive *s*.[1] This explanation, if valid, sweeps away the major part of our exceptions and leaves us to deal with only six cases of *ç* where we expect *z*. It is hard to believe that the isolated *voces* of the *Cid* is aught but a mere editorial slip, yet nothing justifies the belief.[2] The other instances occur in 15th century texts, that is, at a period when the etymological principle cannot have had much influence upon scribes, but when, on the other hand, the sound denoted by *z* must have begun to unvoice and to become confounded with that denoted by *ç*. Herein may lie the explanation of the use of *ç* in these cases, where it was conventionally erroneous, but phonetically correct. As already stated, a dialectical influence may also have operated here. Not to be included among the real exceptions are the *doçientos* of the *Cid*, v. 1490, the *çisne* of the *Vision*, *A. J. & B.*, and *Lab.*, and the *meleszinar* of the *Caza*, p. 59, l. 5. The *s* of the last-named word must be

---

peziento (pix, pĭcem, *pĭcentum), found in selections from the translation of the *Iliad* (15th century), published by Vollmöller, Hamburg, 1893, in *Studien zur Literaturgeschichte, Michael Bernays gewidmet*, etc. See there pp. 238, l. 8; 240, l. 14; 239, ll. 15, 16; 243, l. 16.

[1] See below, p. 100.

[2] Huntington's edition has *voces*, but Menéndez Pidal prints *vozes*.

an erroneous insertion; the history of *çisne* is not clear[1]; and *doçientos* is, of course, not a mistake for *dozientos*, but rather a new form based upon *dos* and *çientos*.

The *z* having once developed, it remained even though brought into contact with a consonant through the loss of an intervening vowel or the later insertion of the consonant. Examples of this fact are not few. Noted above will be found: *Fragmento*, *dizre*, *maldizre*; *Cid*, *diezmo*, *lazrados*, *lazradas*, *quinze*; *C. & E.*, *duraznales*, *enzinas*, *enzimares*, *quatorze*, *salzes*, *senziellas*; *Vision*, *amanzyllada*; *Stb.*, *manzilla*, *manzillados*; *Disputa*, *lazdrar*; *Caza*, *lazdrar*, *quinze*; *Lab.*, *donzella*, *pastorzillo*.

(*B*) Old Spanish *z* apparently from Basque intervocalic **c** (*e*).

If the etymology given by Körting, *Wörterb.*, no. 1106, upon the authority of Larramendi, is correct, Old Spanish *z* has resulted from Basque **c** (*e*) become medial, in *bezero*, *A. J. & B.*, p. 347, l. 25, and p. 370, l. 39 (= **beia** + **cecorra**).

(*C*) Old Spanish *z* apparently from Latin intervocalic **g** (*i*).

In one word intervocalic **g** (*i*) seems to have become the voiced sibilant *z*. This is *rrezio* and its related forms: — *Cid*, *areziado*, v. 1291. *Caza*, *rrezio*, p. 56, l. 7; 71, 26; but *rreçio*, p. 6, l. 7; 15, 20; 18, ll. 25, 30; 22, ll. 3, 4; 25, 8; 27, 26; 34, 27; 58, 17; 71, 20. *A. J. & B.*, *rrezio*, p. 376, l. 6; 392, 3; *rreziamente*, p. 386, l. 27. *Lab.*, *rezio*, no. 23, v. 35; 44, 22.

Although *rreçio* occurs so frequently in the *Caza*, it cannot be the correct Old Spanish form. Of all our texts, the *Caza* is the most likely to admit faulty forms (see Horning, *Lateinisches C*, p. 87, apropos of *poso*). The only source indicated for *rrezio* is **rigidus**, but this is clearly exceptionable on phonetic grounds, since the **g**, instead of assibilating, should have disappeared; cf. *maestro* = **magistrum**, *reina* = **reginam**, *ley* = **legem**, *leer* = **legere**, and, a case more exactly in point, *frío* = **frigidum**. ***Recidus** (see Meyer-Lübke, *Gramm.*, I, § 524) would properly become *rrezio* in Old Spanish, and this form

[1] Baist, *Grundriss*, I, p. 709, § 60, thinks it learned; cf. also *Rom. Forschungen*, IV, 417. *Cisne* and not *cisne* has survived in the modern spee

seems required by the Albanian *rek'ethe.* Possibly, then, the word appeared in a double form in Vulgar Latin, as * **recidus** for Spanish and Albanian, and as * **regidus** for Italian (*reddo*) and French (*roide*). Certainly the evidence is not sufficient to prove the change of intervocalic **g** (*i*) to *z* in Spanish.

(*D*) Old Spanish *z* from Latin intervocalic **ty**.

The only descendants of intervocalic **ty** words (i.e. words containing *t* + unaccented *i* or *e* in hiatus) occurring in the *Altspanische Glossen* and the *Misterio* are learned forms.[1] Thus the former has no. 245 *serbiciales*, no. 257 *precio*, and the latter has p. 2, l. 29 *profecias*. The *z* appears first in our texts in the popular word *rrazon*, which is found in the *Poème*, ll. 2, 3, 65 and the *Débat*, ll. 44, 67, 96, the latter having also the learned *preçian*, l. 17. The *Fragmento* has only the learned words *prim*[*i*]*cia*, p. 61, l. 7, and *oracion*, p. 61, l. 7.

From the 14th century on, our texts present *z* for intervocalic **ty** with even fewer exceptions than in the case of intervocalic **c** (*e*, *i*). The frequency of the suffix *-eza* (= **-ĭtiam**) will be noticed in the subjoined list.

alteza. *A. J. & B.*, p. 342, l. 21; 343, 5.
aguzaron. *A. J. & B.*, p. 368, l. 4; *aguzeste*, 336, 24.
amarillez. *Stb.*, p. 8, l. 22; 14, 15.
amarilleza. *Stb.*, p. 14, l. 3.
asperezas (pl.). *Lab.*, no. 29, v. 12.
atizan. *Lab.*, no. 41, v. 6; *tizna* (pres. indic., 3d sing.), no. 73, v. 17; *atizne* (pret. indic., 1st sing.), no. 73, v. 20.
auareza. *C. & E.*, p. 455, l. 24; 456, 2. *A. J. & B.*, p. 356, l. 37.
braueza. *C. & E.*, p. 516, l. 24; 517, ll. 2, 19, 21. *Caza*, p. 16, l. 9.
bebdez. *Stb.*, p. 17, l. 5.
belleza. *Lab.*, no. 1, v. 4; 58, 30; 66, 26; 27, 36.
breueza. *A. J. & B.*, p. 389, l. 29.
criazon. *Cid*, vv. 2707, 2919.
adelgazare (verb). *Caza*, p. 57, l. 5.

---

[1] The retention of the *i* after the sibilant shows their learned nature.

dureza. *Stb.*, p. 2, ll. 20, 21; 16, 3; 26, ll. 18, 24; 27, 20. *A. J. & B.*, p. 358, l. 31; 383, 24; 393, 16. *Lab.*, no. 23, v. 41.
enbriaguez. *A. J. & B.*, p. 370, l. 20; 390, 23.
escaseza. *C. & E.*, p. 455, ll. 22, 24; 456, ll. 1, 5; 457, ll. 11, 12.
firmeza. *A. J. & B.*, p. 335, l. 22; 339, 34; 354, 32; 355, 6; 364, ll. 17, 30; 366, 16; 373, 14; 391, 33. *Lab.*, no. 20, v. 18; 27, 44; 34, 11; 42, 32; 49, 58; 59, 5.
flaqueza. *C. & E.*, p. 463, l. 20; 465, 32; 468, 23. *A. J. & B.*, p. 348, l. 15; 354, 3; 382, 4; 386, 41.
fondeza. *A. J. & B.*, p. 380, l. 36.
fortaleza. *C. & E.*, p. 511, l. 5; 517, 12. *Stb.*, p. 13, l. 16; p. 17, l. 24. *A. J. & B.*, p. 362, ll. 9, 10; 363, ll. 30, 31; 364, 6; 375, 13; 378, 43; 391, 32. *Lab.*, no. 58, v. 12.
franqueza. *C. & E.*, p. 455, ll. 21, 22, 23, 24; 456, 4; 457, ll. 11, 12.
grandez. *C. & E.*, p. 496, l. 21. *A. J. & B.*, p. 345, 34; 395, 36.
grandeza. *Stb.*, p. 6, l. 10. *Caza*, p. 5, l. 20. *A. J. & B.*, p. 335, l. 21; 342, 41; 354, 42; 355, ll. 24, 40; 356, 6; 362, 10; 367, 11; 371, 20; 374, 29.
granizo (= * granitium).[1] *Stb.*, p. 22, l. 10; 31, 25. *Lab.*, no. 19, v. 10.
guarnizon. *Cid*, vv. 1715, 3073, 3244, 3476, 3538, 3636, 3675, 3678, 3680.
hinchazones (inflationem). *Lab.*, no. 48, v. 47.
languezа. *A. J. & B.*, p. 391, l. 5.
ligereza. *C. & E.*, p. 498, l. 3. *Caza*, p. 71, l. 30.
limpieza. *Stb.*, p. 23, l. 20. *A. J. & B.*, p. 358, l. 23; 377, 30; 381, 17.
llaneza. *Stb.*, p. 4, l. 21.
menuzo (= * minutiavit). *A. J. & B.*, p. 386, l. 29.
naturaleza. *C. & E.* 14 (p. 449, l. 22; 493, 6; 506, 21; 510, 6; etc.). *Stb.*, p. 4, ll. 14, 19; 10, 4; 30, 13; 33, 11. *Lab.*, no. 4, v. 46; 56, 14.
nobleza. *C. & E.*, p. 449, l. 16; 453, 19. *Caza*, p. 2, l. 19. *A. J. & B.*, p. 354, l. 34.
pequeñez. *A. J. & B.*, p. 352, l. 14.
pereza. *C. & E.*, *pere(n)za*, p. 491, l. 23; *perezoso*, p. 472, ll. 8, 9,

[1] Cuervo, *Revue hispanique*, II, 17, seems to assume the etymon granicium.

18; 473, 2; 508, 3. *A. J. & B.*, *enperezes*, p. 349, l. 45; *perezoso*, p. 352, l. 34. But *Lab.*, no. 8, v. 29, *pereçoso*.

pobreza. *A. J. & B.*, p. 337, l. 20; *pobreziella*, 333, 8; 353, 33.

pozo. *Vision*, p. 55, l. 39. *A. J. & B.*, p. 349, ll. 17, 21, 33. *Caza*, p. 77, l. 27; but p. 78, l. 1 *poso ayron*, a place-name. Horning, *Lateinisches C*, p. 87, expresses doubt as to whether this last is really from puteus. If it is, the form is susceptible of the explanations advanced above on p. 11.

prez (pretium).[1] *Cid*, vv. 1748, 1755, 3197, 3444. The *Cid* has also the learned forms *preçioso*, vv. 1762, 2216; *preçiar*, *apreçiar*, etc., vv. 77, 475, etc.; *apreçiadura*, vv. 3240, 3250. The other texts have only the learned forms.

preñez. *Stb.*, p. 25, l. 24.

prouezas. *Cid*, v. 1292.

rrazon. *Cid* 29 (vv. 19, 1348, 1375, 1377, 1866, 1893, 1926, 2043, etc.); cf. *rraçion*, vv. 2329, 2467, 2773, 3388; *raçon*, v. 3216. *Rracion* is not a variant spelling of *rrazon*, but is a learned word with a different sense. *Rrazon* = reason, *rraçion* = share, Eng. *rations*. The *raçon* of v. 3216 is due to a sixteenth century corrector; see Menéndez Pidal. *Vision*, *rrazon* 18 (p. 51, l. 41; 53, ll. 16, 33, 35; etc.); *rrazonar*, p. 51, l. 11; but p. 54, l. 13 *rraçon*. *C. & E.*, *rrazon* 108 (p. 444, ll. 25, 30; 445, ll. 3, 15; 449, ll. 9, 11; etc.); *rrazonan*, p. 455, l. 18; 508, ll. 8, 14, 15, 16; *razonado*, p. 518, l. 36; *rrazonal*, p. 487, ll. 23, 25; 488, 7; 493, 25; but p. 497, l. 19 *rraçion*. *Disputa*, *razon*, stz. VIII, l. 2; XIV, 1. *Stb.*, *razon*, p. 10, l. 24; 18, 26; 23, 27; 27, 15. *Caza*, *razon* 16 (p. 3, l. 4; 5, 16; 6, 18; etc.); *razonables*, p. 2, l. 6. *A. J. & B.*, *rrazon* 21 (p. 335, ll. 34, 36; 337, 22; 339, 26); *synrrazon*, p. 382, l. 10; *rrazonable*, p. 353, l. 2; 360, 10; 375, 16; 380, ll. 45, 46; *rrazonado*, p. 374, l. 32. *Lab.*, *razon*, no. 14, v. 23; 22, 10; 27, 66; 43, 27; 57, vv. 9, 10; *sinrazones*, no. 17, v. 8; 22, 9; 43, 53.

rriqueza. *Cid*, vv. 481 (*rriquizas*), 811, 1200, 1269, 1648, 1792, 2580, 2659, 2663. *Vision* 10 (p. 52, ll. 25, 31; 56, 11; 57, 15;

---

[1] On the absence of a final *o*, cf. Joret in *Romania*, I, 456, apropos of *solaz*, and see below, p. 58.

etc.); but p. 55, l. 43, *rriquesas*, see above, pp. 11 f. *C. & E.*, p. 464, l. 13. *Stb.*, p. 20, l. 18; 25, 29. *A. J. & B.* 13 (p. 333, ll. 4, 6; 337, 4; 346, 9; etc.). *Lab.*, no. 1, v. 6.

rudeza. *Stb.*, p. 14, l. 17.

sazon. *Cid*, vv. 1987, 2114, 2472, 2572, 2961, 3243. *Disputa*, stz. XI, l. 2.

solaz. *Cid*, vv. 228, 2872. *Vision*, *solazes* (pl.), p. 58, l. 31. *A. J. & B.*, p. 360, l. 1; 383, 32. Körting gives the source as **solatium**. But Horning rejects the etymon *solatium* and declares for *solacium*. He says (*Lateinisches C*, p. 23), "Die meisten Romanisten schreiben zwar *solatium*, dies ist jedoch ein nackter Barbarismus, wie Lachmann zum Lucrez S. 348 bemerkt 'barbare qui per *t* scriptum exhibent, cum tamen *mendatium* nemo probet.' Noch in den Inscriptiones Africae Latinae C. I. L. VIII, Pars prior, findet man das Wort nur mit *c*: *solacio* 9048, 6; *solacia* 2756, 5; 4071, 10; *solaciulum* 7427." Meyer-Lübke (*Literaturblatt f. germ. u. rom. Phil.*, 1884, col. 277), supports Horning's view and declares that *solatium* must now yield definitively to "dem allein richtigen *solacium*." *Solacium* is also upheld, to the exclusion of *solatium*, by Georges (*Lexikon der lateinischen Wortformen*, Leipzig, 1890) and by Gröber, *Vulgärlateinische Substrate romanischer Wörter*, *A. L. L.* (i.e. *Archiv für lateinische Lexikographie und Grammatik*), V, 472, the former citing *Corp. Inscr. Lat.* II, 1094, 2 and VIII, 4071, as well as *Corp. Gloss.* II, 185, no. 34. It therefore seems best to treat **solatium** as a mediæval barbarism for **solacium**. There is still, however, a difficulty to be encountered, that is, the loss of final *o*, for whether derived from *solatium* or *solacium*, the Spanish word should show this terminal vowel. Joret, in his article *La loi des finales en espagnol* (*Romania*, I, 456) has sought to solve this difficulty by the following explanation: "Enfin *solaz* (**solatium**), s'il n'est point d'origène catalane ou provençale, montrerait le suffixe *atius* identifié à *ax*, *acis*." It is perhaps worthy of note that if the noun were regarded as a verbal abstract in Spanish, the absence of a final *o* would [illegible] no difficulty.[1]

[1] *Solaz* is probably a loan-word in Sp. [illegible] See later under *cy*.

sotileza. *C. & E.*, p. 474, l. 8. *A. J. & B.*, p. 346, l. 40.

tapizes (= * **tapētium**). *Lab.*, no. 65, l. 38; 66, 7. For the Spanish *i* corresponding to the Latin **ē**, cf. Horning's remarks (*Lateinisches C*, p. 22) on the Old French *tapiz.* The *p* would seem to indicate that the word did not undergo an entirely popular treatment.[1]

Tizon (= **titionem**, the brand, i.e. the sword). *Cid*, vv. 2426, 2575, 2727, 3153, 3175, 3189, 3201, 3556, 3643. Cf. *atizan.*

torcazas. *C. & E.*, p. 504, l. 11. This word may be formed from Lat. **torquatus**, through * **torquatius.**[2] But Meyer-Lübke (*Gramm.*, II, § 413) seems inclined to suppose a vulgar formation with **-ax**, **-acem.**

torpeza. *Stb.*, p. 25, l. 14.

tristeza. *Vision*, p. 51, l. 44; 52, ll. 2, 38. *Stb.*, p. 13, l. 1; 15, 13. *A. J. & B.* 17 (p. 335, l. 29; 336, 22; 337, ll. 14, 19; etc.). *Lab.*, no. 8, v. 16; 14, 7; 27, 60.

vejez. *A. J. & B.*, p. 337, l. 20; 341, 9; 364, 5.

It is plain that the evidence points only one way for the development of intervocalic **ty**, that is, towards the sole result *z*. Only five exceptional spellings occur, — *raçon* in the *Cid*, v. 3216, and the *Vision*, p. 54, l. 13, *poso* in the *Caza*, p. 78, l. 1, *pereçoso* in the *Lab.*, no. 8, v. 29, and *rriquesas* in the *Vision*, p. 55, l. 43. Baist (see above, p. 11) accounts easily for the *s* cases; *ç* must appear by mistake in *raçon*[3] (cf. *rraçion*) and is intelligible at the late date of the *Lab.*, when *z* and *ç* had a common sound. The *rraçion* of the *Cid*, v. 2329, etc., and the *C. & E.*, p. 497, l. 19, is a learned word.

Some other non-learned words seem to constitute exceptions. They are the modern *manzano*, *ponzoña*, which are found as *ma*[*n*]-*ça*[*n*]*o*, *Poème*, v. 61, *mançanar*, *ibid.*, vv. 13, 27, 30; *maçanas*, *Cid*, v. 3178; *mançano*, *Lab.*, no. 26, v. 40, *Mançanares* (the river), *ibid.*, no. 21, v. 1; 35, 7; 41, 1; 64, 1; 66, 3; 67, 23; *poçonna*, *Vision*, p. 59, ll. 39, 42; *enpoçonnadas*, *ibid.*, p. 59, l. 44; *enpeçonnada*, *ibid.*, p. 53, l. 2; *ponçoñadas*, *C. & E.*, p. 497, ll. 5, 6; *aponçonnadas*

[1] The non-appearance of a final *o* is as suspicious a circumstance here as in *solaz*.

[2] Cf. *aguzar* = **acutiare** (**acutus**), *adelgazar* = * **addelicatiare** (**delicatus**), [*des*]*menuzar* = * [dis]**minutiare** (**minutus**). [3] See p. 15, above.

(cedilla forgotten in the text), *ibid.*, p. 497, l. 4; *ponçoña*, *Stb.*, p. 4, ll. 4, 23; *ponçoñosas*, *ibid.*, p. 29, l. 24. Intervocalic **ty** sources, **matianum** and **potionem**, are here concerned, but it is to be noted that the Old Spanish forms occasionally and the modern forms always show an *n* before the *ç*, modern *z*. This *n*, which in the one case may be due to a spreading of the initial nasal of **matianum**, and in the other to the influence of **punctionem** upon **potionem**,[1] was seen not to have hindered the development of a *z* in *manzilla* from * **macellam**. But, beside *manzilla* from the Vulgar Latin * **macellam**, there is *mancha* from **maculam**, in which the inserted *n* seems to be responsible for the conversion of intervocalic **c'l** into *ch* rather than *j* (cf. Meyer-Lübke, *Gramm.*, I, § 493), that is, seems to have prevented the development of a voiced sound. The question appears, then, to be one of chronology. In *manzilla*, the *n* probably did not appear until after the Latin intervocalic *c* had assibilated and produced a voiced sound, while in **potionem** and **matianum** the *n* may have entered early enough to keep the **ty** from being treated as intervocalic. The *ç* of *po(n)çonna* may, like its *n*, be also ascribed to the influence of **punctionem**, which should have become *ponçon* in Old Spanish.[2]

It is here opportune to touch upon a theory, which, especially with regard to the development of sibilants, has had considerable vogue. It is the theory that Lat. **c** (*e*, *i*) and the groups **ty**, **cy** gave a voiced result before the accent and a voiceless one after it.

This theory was first set forth in its broadest lines by F. Neumann,[3] who had formulated it before Verner had stated the similar

---

[1] Cf. Horning, *Lateinisches C*, p. 88.

[2] Cf. *punçado* = * **punctiatum**, *A. J. & B.*, p. 345, l. 13, etc. Morel-Fatio, *Romania*, IV, 138, finds in the *Libro de Alexandre*, 2327, *apoçonado*, 2010 *poçon*, 1324 *peçon*, and adds the note: "Le castil. a intercalé un *n*." Cf. Gröber, *A. L. L.*, IV, 452. The treatment of **ncty** in * **punctiare** throws doubt upon Baist's statement, in the *Grundriss f. rom. Phil.*, I, 705, to the effect that **ncty** regularly became *nch* in Spanish.

[3] L. Havet, in *Romania*, III (1874), 330, had already expressed his belief in a different treatment of **ty** before and after the accent, and Bugge, in *Romania*, IV, 363, had cast doubt upon his theory by citing cases of **ty** after the accent yielding the voiced *s* in French.

law for Germanic sound-change, but did not publish his results until 1878 (in his *Laut- und Flexionslehre des Altfranzösischen*, Heilbronn, 1878, pp. 80 ff.). Neumann stated, but with no little hesitancy, the following law for French, and then sought to show its application to the other Romance languages:

"Lat. palatales *c* (*ci*, *ce*) und *ti* werden im Französischen inlautend zwischen Vokalen zu tönender Spirans (*s*), wenn sie vor dem Tone stehen, dagegen zu tonloser Spirans (*ç*, *ss*), wenn sie im Nachlaute betonter Silben stehen" (l.c., p. 83).

This principle was soon subjected to a more exhaustive investigation by A. Horning, who in his work, *Zur Geschichte des lateinischen C vor e und i im Romanischen* (Halle, 1883), restricted considerably the terms of the rule as set forth by Neumann. His conclusions for French were these: "Aus auslautenden *c* (*cy*, *ty*) entsteht tonlose Spirans, dieselbe darf jedoch nicht der Stellung nach dem Tone zugeschrieben werden.

"*Ce* (*i*) vor dem Ton giebt tönende Spirans, da jedoch nach dem Ton im Inlaut kein sicherer Fall von tonloser nachgewiesen ist, so darf der sanfte *s*-Laut auch vor dem Ton nicht als eine Wirkung des Tones sondern muss als durch den Inlaut hervorgebracht betrachtet werden.

"*Cy* + *e* wird behandelt wie einfaches *ce*. *Cy* + *dunkler Vocal* giebt vor dem Ton tönende Spirans in *oison*, tonlose in *acier*; das Resultat ist unsicher. Nach dem Ton tritt tonlose Spirans ein; Bildungen wie *fournaise* gehen nicht direct auf lat. *ácia* zurück.

"Ein entschiedener Einfluss des Tones ist dagegen für die Wörter auf *ty* nicht in Abrede zu stellen; man vergleiche *raison*, *oiseux*, *aiguiser* mit *pièce*, *place*, *richesse*. In *j'aiguise* ist Analogiewirkung anzuerkennen. *Franchise*, *justice*, *servise*, sind spätere, halbgelehrte Bildungen" (p. 55).

For Spanish he drew the following conclusions:—

"In zwei wichtigen Punkten lassen sich die für das altspan. gefundenen Resultate mit dem Neumann'schen Gesetz nicht in Einklang bringen.

"1. *Ce* wird ebensowohl nach wie vor dem Ton zur tönenden Spirans *z*; dieselbe ist demnach nicht durch den Ton, sondern durch die Stellung im Inlaut bedingt.

"2. Auch *cy* wird in den meisten Fällen vor und nach dem Ton zu *z*.

"Was die Wörter auf *ty* betrifft, so sind wenigstens Spuren vorhanden, dass der Ton auf die Gestaltung derselben nicht ohne Einfluss war: man vergleiche *razon* mit *palacio*, *precio*. Freilich weichen einerseits Suffix *-eza*, andererseits Verba wie *preciar* ab, letztere wohl unter dem Einfluss der Analogie" (p. 98).

It was, therefore, Horning's opinion that the accent was not a determining factor in French in the development of c after a vowel and before *e*, *i*, or of cy after a vowel and before *e*; that it might have been such a factor in the case of cy after a vowel and before *a*, *o*, *u*; but that it certainly was in the case of intervocalic ty. He stated the case for cy with some doubt and his only sure instance of cy before the accent giving (*i*)*s*, the word *oison*, has since been explained as an example of the working of analogy. Horning has frankly acknowledged the failure of his rule in this respect, saying "Dass intervokalisches *cy* auch vor dem Tone sich zur tonlosen Spirans wandelt, wird heute allgemein angenommen, nachdem Thurneysen die scheinbare Ausnahme *oison* aucionem durch Beeinflussung von *oiseau* erklärt hat" (*Ztschr. f. rom. Phil.*, XVI, 529).

The somewhat extensive part, which, according to Neumann's original rule, the accent had been supposed to play in the history of French sibilants, was now narrowed down to the single case of ty. Here Horning was positive in assigning a decided function to the accent, and found the support of so able a Romance scholar as Meyer-Lübke (*Gramm.*, I, § 509).[1] But nevertheless the question has not been universally considered as settled. On the contrary, this last stronghold of the accent theory has been rudely attacked and shaken by the potent arguments of a thoroughly competent authority. Mussafia, in *Romania*, XVIII, 529 ff., makes it most probable that the chief cases in which ty after the accent was alleged to have developed into the voiceless sibilant, are really not examples of intervocalic ty (*mace* = * mattea, not * matea; *chevece* = * capicia, not

[1] Meyer-Lübke has evidently changed his mind in *Gramm.*, II, § 480; cf. *Ztschr. f. franz. Sprache*, X, 277.

capitia; *place* = * plattea, not platea[1]; *pièce* = * pecia, not * petia), that for the suffix -itia the truly popular descendant was the Old French *-eise*,[2] with the voiced sound, and not *-ece*, and that, finally, upon general principles we have no reason to expect an influence of the accent for ty any more than for the other *y* combinations. As his words upon this last point deal with still another question — the supposed coloring given to the consonant combination by the adjacent vowel — they may well be quoted: "In tutte le altre formole di 'voc. + cons. + *j* + voc.' il risultamento in francese è sempre un solo, indipendente come dalla collocazione prima o dopo l'accento *così dalla vocale che segue:* c' è quindi la probabilità che 'voc. + *tj* + voc.' non faccia eccezione."

With minor reservations and the addition of further explanatory remarks, Mussafia's conclusions have been accepted by leading Romance philologists, as by Paris in a note appended to Mussafia's article, by Meyer-Lübke in the *Ztschr. f. rom. Phil.*, XIV, 260, and in the second volume of his *Grammatik*, § 480,[3] and by Schwan in the second edition of his *Grammatik des Altfranzösischen*, § 251 (cf. the fourth edition, § 193), where he overrides his previous adverse critique in the *Archiv f. d. Studium d. n. Sprachen und Literaturen*, LXXXVII, 110. Horning has not yet entirely yielded the point, although he admits the probability of Mussafia's views (*Litbl. f. germ. u. rom. Phil.*, 1890, col. 105 ff., and *Ztschr. f. rom. Phil.*, XVIII, 232 ff.).

The extreme likelihood of the absence of accentual differentiation in the history of the French sibilant sounds, thus made patent by Mussafia, must lead one to suspect the validity of the accent rule as laid down for Spanish. Here again we find that Horning has narrowed down the application of Neumann's law to the single case of intervocalic -ty-, and that even then he discovers only *traces* of an

---

[1] Suchier, *Grundriss*, I, 631, first declared for * plattea.

[2] Mussafia goes still further, and regards the form *-ise* as also popular, but Paris (*Romania*, XVIII, 551) does not support him in this.

[3] Which, therefore, overrules the statements in I, § 509. See also Meyer-Lübke in *Archiv f. lat. Lexikographie*, VIII, 336: "Im Französischen musste aus -itia nicht *esse*, sondern *oise* oder unter bestimmten Bedingungen *-ise* entstehen." For an explanation of *-ise*, see E. Muret, *Romania*, XIX, 592.

influence of the accent. In truth there are not even any such traces. The forms *palacio*, *precio*, and *preciar*, cited by Horning, are learned, as their *i* shows, and therefore argue nothing for or against the rule, while, on the contrary, the long list of *-ty-* words given above shows the voiced sound *z* to be developed regularly, as well after as before the accent. As instances of words with intervocalic *ty* before the accent the list has *criazon*, *hinchazones*, *rrazon*, *sazon*, *guarnizon*, *tizon*, and the verb forms *aguzaron*, *aguzeste*, *atizne* (*ad-titionavi?), *adelgazare*, *menuzo* (* minutiavit); with intervocalic *ty* after the accent it has the abstract suffix *-eza* (= ĭtiam), corresponding exactly to the Old French *-eise*, in twenty-nine different words, *granizo* (= * granitium from * granire, * granitum, see Körting, *Wörterb.*, s.v. grando), *pozo* (= puteum), *tapizes*, *torcazas*, the verb forms *atizan* (= * ad-titiant), *tizna* (perhaps this form and *atizne* are rather to be regarded as parts of a verb built upon *tizon*).[1] The cases of intervocalic ty giving a Spanish final *z* do not come into consideration. In the final position Spanish *z* like Old French and Provençal *z* probably had a voiceless value, representing indifferently sounds which medially would be denoted by *ç* as well as those there denoted by *z*. At all events it will be seen that Horning has asserted the final, as well as the initial position, to be exempt from any accent rule.

Meyer-Lübke, as already noted, has rallied to Mussafia's side, yet, strangely enough, he persists in maintaining an accent rule for Spanish and considers the suffix *-éza* as irregular (*Gramm.*, II, § 480), as compared with the *-éça* of *cabeça*. But, in view of Mussafia's arguments, *-eza* is the regular development, and *cabeça* does not represent * capitia, but, like the Old French *chevece*, rests upon a form *capicia.[2] The contention of Horning for a different treatment of -ty- in a stem from that which it receives in a suffix (*Lateinisches C*, pp. 87 and 29), is hardly admissible. Phonetic laws know no boundaries of stem and suffix, but govern equally all parts of the word. Sometimes

[1] As * ad-titionat should give *atizóna*.

[2] *Romania*, XVIII, 531. The classic Lat. caput, capitis did not pass into Romance as a popular word. The popular Romance forms point to *capum, which, augmented by the substantival suffix -ĭciam, produced the Old French *chevece* and the Old Spanish *cabeça:* cf. Old Spanish *peliça* from pell-em + -ĭciam. Cf. Thomas, *Romania* (1899), XXVIII, p. 177.

even they extend their force beyond the word and into the word-group, as is seen in the sound-developments due to the liaison in Portuguese and French.

It is, perhaps, hardly necessary to point out that Horning's *justiçia*, *injustiçia*, *acuçia*, *serviçio*, *cerviçio* (l.c., pp. 86 and 87), like *preçio* and *palaçio*, are learned, and avail naught for his argument, and that *plaça* and *pieça* are not intervocalic **-ty-** words for Spanish any more than *place* and *pièce* are for French.

Cuervo, who does not argue for an influence of the accent,[1] still thinks that there are cases of the voiceless sound developed from intervocalic **-ty-**, and quotes, in addition to the forms mentioned by Horning, "*maça* (**matea**), *choça* (**plutea**), *peçon* (**petiolus**), *carniça*, *encarniçar*, *carnicero* (* **carnitiarius**), *torticero* (* **tortitiarius**)."[2] For *maça*, we must, with Mussafia, adopt * **mattea**, and for *peçon*, not **petiolus**,[3] but **peciolus**, for which see Paris in *Romania*, XXII, 147. *Carniça* with its derivatives is regarded by Meyer-Lübke as an instance of the suffix **-īcia** (*Gramm.*, I, § 513; II, § 416),[4] and surely the direct addition to a noun (**caro, carn-**, + **itia**) of **-itia**, which is properly an adjectival abstract suffix,[5] is open to grave doubt. The etymon * **tortitiarius** seems purely arbitrary; **-icius**, not **-itius**, forms adjectives from the stem of the past participle.[6] For *choça*, if we are obliged to give up the Arabic etymon *choçç*, it may not seem too rash to adopt, on the analogy of * **plattea**, * **mattea**, the source * **pluttea** rather than * **plutea**.[7] In any case, does not *ch* from Latin **pl** indicate a Portuguese or Galician origin? Additional examples of the regular phonetic development in true **-ty-** words are afforded by Cuervo's *bezo* (= **vitium**), *bezar* (**vitiare**).

---

[1] That is, does not *expressly* argue for it, though he certainly favors it. He knows Horning's work and refers to it in *Revue hispanique*, II, 59.

[2] *Revue hispanique*, II, 20.

[3] The Spanish word shows suffix modification.

[4] So Horning, *Lat. C*, p. 93. *Carniçero* occurs in *C. & E.*, p. 503, l. 9.

[5] See Meyer-Lübke, *Gramm.*, II, § 480.

[6] See Meyer-Lübke, *Gramm.*, II, §§ 415, 416.

[7] As to an Arabic source for *choça* see Dozy and Engelmann, *Glossaire des mots espagnols et portugais dérivés de l'arabe* (Leyden, 1869), pp. 13 and 254, *pro*, and **Baist** in *Rom. Forschungen*, IV, 259, *contra*.

(*E*) Old Spanish *z* apparently from Latin intervocalic **dy**.

The only instance found of the supposed development of intervocalic **dy** into Old Spanish *z* is that of *gozo* (**gaudium**) and its allied verb and adjective, occurring as follows: — *Cid*, *gozo* 19 (vv. 170, 245, 381, 600, 803, 1146, 1211, 1393, 1478, 1515, 1600, 2023, 2176, 2505, 2507, 2869, 2887, 2897, 3710); *Vision*, *gozos* 1 (p. 58, l. 8); *A. J. & B.*, *gozo* 21 (p. 340, ll. 12, 13; 345, ll. 3, 15; 347, 30; 351, 28; 363, ll. 14, 31, 40; 364, 32; 372, 17; 376, 18; 379, 30 *bis*; 382, 33; 384, 7; 385, 34; 386, 3; 392, 23; 393, 32; 395, 25); *gozando* 5 (p. 360, l. 13; 384, 30; 390, 12; 391, 22; 392, 3); *Lab.*, *gozar* and parts 5 (no. 13, v. 44; 28, 24; 39, 12; 53, 11; 58, 16); *gozoso* 1 (33, 42).

Gaudium should regularly appear in Old Spanish as *goyo*, a form actually found in the *aljamiado Poema de José*.[1] Cf. Meyer-Lübke, *Gramm.*, I, § 510: — "Nachtonig *dy*, *gy*, *y* zwischen Vokalen sind schon vulgärlateinisch zusammengefallen unter *y*, das . . . span. *y* wird . . . RADIU *rayo*, etc. . . . *Gozo*, in den altspanischen Quellen meist mit *z*, geht auf *gaudium* zurück: *dy* nach *au* ist behandelt wie nach Konsonanten, ebenso portg., wo noch als zweites Beispiel *auço* = *audio* hinzukommt."[2] But the arguments presented by Meyer-Lübke (*Gramm.*, I, §§ 434, 510) for the theory that **dy** after the diphthong *au* was treated in Spanish like **dy** after a consonant cannot be regarded as convincing, and, further, there is probably no decisive evidence of Old Spanish *z* or *ç* from **dy** after a consonant.[3] At all events, however *gozo* is to be explained, the important fact remains that it is not to be looked upon as an instance of Latin intervocalic **dy** becoming *z* in Old Spanish.[4]

---

[1] See the *Poema de José*, ed. H. Morf (Leipzig, 1883), str. 236 a (in Roman letters: *tanto tomo del goyo con Yuçuf su ermano*). See also the note on *goso* in the *Romania*, XXVII (1898), 288–9.

[2] The Portuguese word may have its own especial explanation. In the *Grundriss*, I, 754, Baist derives Old Spanish *oxa* from **audiat**, but the form must be of analogical origin. Compare the apparently regular Old Spanish *oye*, *oya*, from **audio**, **audiam**, and also the subjunctive *oxa* in the *Libro de Alexandre* (stanzas 346, 742, 2283).

[3] See below, pp. 43 ff.

[4] Intervocalic **dy** could not yield Old Spanish *ç* any more than Old Spanish *z*, so that *baçar* (*Lab.*, no. 72, v. 31) cannot be [illegible] to badium, as Diez, *Gramm.*

(*F*) Old Spanish *z* from Latin intervocalic **cy**. See below, pp. 47, 52.

(*G*) Old Spanish *z* from Latin (Greek) **z**.

bautizar. *Altspanische Glossen*, no. 178, *babtizare.* *Débat*, ll. 92, 94, *bautizado.* *A. J. & B.*, *bautizar* and parts 10 (p. 344, v. 41; 346, ll. 7, 26; 357, 43; 374, 1; etc.). Cf. the more popular *batear.*

euangelizauan. *A. J. & B.*, p. 385, l. 10.

Lazaro. *Cid*, v. 346. Possible derivatives of this word are *C. & E.*, p. 450, l. 15; 463, 25 *lazeria: Caza*, p. 59, l. 26, *lazeria;* 66, 25, *lazerio: A. J. & B.*, p. 348, l. 32, *lazeria;* 356, 11, *lazerio.*

martirizada. *Lab.* no. 65, v. 2.

tiranizado. *Lab.*, no. 13, v. 9.

topaza (cf. *topazus*, τόπαζος). *Stb.*, p. 14, ll. 20, 21. The *estopazas* of *C. & E.*, p. 513, l. 2, is evidently the same word. The modern Spanish *topacio* is learned.

zefiro. *Lab.*, no. 53, l. 2.

zelos. *Lab.* 18 (no. 3, vv. 14, 28, 42; 5, 5; 14, 14; etc.). *Ibid.*, no. 41, v. 3, *rezelos:* 8, 15; 14, 32; 39, 33; 40, 24; 41, 9; 42, 4, *zeloso:* 45, 8, *rezela* (verb): 14, ll. 20, 25; 36, 30, *zelogia.*

zelotes. *A. J. & B.*, p. 370, l. 16.

Zeto (= *Zethus*). *A. J. & B.*, p. 370, l. 1.

Zoroastes. *Stb.*, p. 22, l. 3.

Medially this Old Spanish *z* was the voiced dental sibilant; in the initial position it was developed into *ç* in popular words, so that its retention in the cases mentioned must be due to a learned impulse. See below, pp. 34 f.

(Fr. trans.), I, 340, desires. Körting, *Wörterb.*, s.v. *milzi*, seeks to derive the word from ***vasium**; but ***vasium** should have become *veso:* cf. *beso* from **basium.** The puzzling word *raza* is connected by Baist, *Rom. Forschungen*, I, 108, and Goldschmidt, *Altgermanisches im Spanischen* (Lingen, 1887), p. 57, with ***radia** for **radius.** The connection is phonetically impossible. Diez thought that the O.H.G. *reiza* was the source of the Romance word, but Baist, *Rom. Forschungen*, I, 106, 114, holds that O.H.G. *z* does not appear in Spanish. As Antonio Lebrija gives the form *raça* in his *Dictionary*, it is clear that Old Spanish had the *ts* sound here. See Baist, *Ztschr. f. rom. Phil.*, XIV, 223, on a supposed Arabic source, and cf. the other references quoted by Körting, l.c. Meyer-Lübke, *Litbl.*, IX, 302, opposes **radia.**

(*H*) Old Spanish *z* from Basque **z**.

yzquierdo (= **ezquerra**[1]). *Stb.*, p. 3, l. 15; 13, 20; 18, 4; 25, 27. *Lab.*, no. 46, v. 8. See below, p. 165; the *José* form with *sīn*, *eçquerro*, indicates that *z* has the voiceless value here.

(*I*) Old Spanish *z* from the Arabic sibilant *zāy*.

aguazil. *Cid* 1 (v. 749). *Lab.*, *alguazil* (no. 46, v. 57).
azemila. *Cid* 2 (vv. 2490, 2705).
azeytuna. *Lab.* 1 (no. 36, v. 54).
azul. *Lab.* 1 (no. 39, v. 10). Dozy and Engelmann, p. 229: "Ce mot semble une altération de l'arabe-persan . . . (*lâzouwerd*), 'lapis lazuli.'"
ganzellas (= modern *gacela*). *C. & E.* 1 (496, 12).
guermezes. *Caza* 8 (55, 14; 57, 3; 57, 6; 57, 15; 57, 20; 57, 27; 57, 29). The Academy's Dictionary (12th ed.), s.v. *güêrmeces* says: "(Del inglés *warmth*, ardor, hervor), m. pl. Enfermedad que padecen las aves de rapiña en la cabeza, boca, tragadero y oídos, y son unos *granos* pequeños, que se hacen llagas." English *th* will not explain an Old Spanish *z*, and we must rather refer the word to the Arabic *alquirmiz*, which lies at the base of French *cramoisi*, Spanish *carmesí* and means 'scarlet grain'; cf. Dozy and Engelmann, s.v. *alquermez* (. . . "graine d'écarlate, Victor) de . . . (*al-quirmiz*), qui désigne la même chose, etc." The use to denote a disease, the chief symptom of which is a grain-like formation, is easily understood. The appearance of *ḳâf* as *g* is quite natural (see Dozy and Engelmann, p. 15, where Dozy corrects the contrary statement of Engelmann, and see also Baist in *Rom. Forschungen*, IV, 387 ff.), though in this word it has also survived as *k*.
zagal. *Lab.*, *zagal*, no. 71, v. 1; *zagala*, no. 25, v. 5; 66, v. 1; 69, v. 1.
zarafa. *C. & E.* 1 (496, 12). This is the modern word *girafa*. See Dozy and Engelmann, p. 278: "*Girafa* de . . . (*zarâfa* ou *zerâfa*), giraffe. Chez quelques voyageurs du moyen âge, la première lettre de ce mot est encore un *z* ou un *s*; mais chez d'autres c'est déjà un *g* (voyez les passages cités par Quatremère, *Hist. des*

[1] See Körting, *Wörterb.*, s.v.

sult. maml., I, 2, 108, 273). L'ancienne forme *azorafa*, dans la *Chronica de D. Alonso*, X (fol. 5 b), est exactement l'arabe *az-zorâfa;* mais les Arabes eux-mêmes disent aujourd'hui, non seulement *zorâfa*, mais aussi . . . *djorâfa* (Humbert, p. 63)." Cf. *ibid.*, p. 17: "'Il arrive souvent,' dit M. Renou (à la fin de l'ouvrage de M. Carette, *Géographie de l'Algérie*, p. 291), 'que les Arabes prononcent un *djîm* pour un *z*, et réciproquement.'" There were, then, probably two Arabic forms of the word in Spain, one of which, with *zāy*, gave the Old Spanish *zarafa*, *azorafa*, the other, with *g'īm*, gave the modern *girafa*. As to the doubtful direct change of Arabic *g'īm* to Spanish *z*, see Baist in *Rom. Forschungen*, IV, 401 ff.

zorzal. *C. & E.* 1 (502, 21).

In *C. & E.*, p. 509, l. 9, occurs the word *açofeyfos* (jujube), in which we should expect *z* instead of *ç*. Dozy and Engelmann, p. 228: "*Azofaifa*, *azafaifa* (jujube). Ce mot est une altération de . . . (*az-zofaizaf*), *zizyphum rubrum*." Baist, *Rom. Forschungen*, IV, 379: "*azofaifa* beruht auf einer fehlenden arabischen Form für *zizyphum*, das als *azzofaizaf* und *zuʿ zûfa* belegt ist." For a form without the Arabic article, *ç* would be intelligible, since in such a case it might be assumed that Arabic initial *z* had followed the course taken by Latin (Greek) initial *z* and become *ç*.[1] The Portuguese form is *açofeifa*, also with *ç*.

(*J*) Old Spanish *z* from Latin **g** (*e i*) after **r**, **n**.

In a passage of the *Grundriss* (I, 704, § 44), Baist says that after *r* and *n* the sound *ž* became *z* (apparently meaning the modern sound), and mentions, as examples of the change, "*arcilla* * **argillam**, *encia* **gingivam**, *sencillo* **singellum**, *rencilla* von **ringere**, *ercer* * **ergere**, *esparcir* **spargere**, *Bierzo* **Bergidum**, *estarcir* **extergere**, *verguenza* **verecundiam**, *orzuelo* **hordeolum**, *berza* * **verdia**." Several of the words occur in our texts and show for Old Spanish a voiced *z*.[2]

esparzes. *C. & E.*, *esparzer* 1 (p. 493, l. 19). *Caza*, *desparze* 1 (p. 59, l. 28). *Lab.*, *esparziendo* 1 (no. 68, v. 23).

---

[1] See below, p. 34.

[2] For the last three examples, see pp. 43 ff. below.

renzillas. *Stb.* 3 (pp. 3, 12; 13, 2; 18, 26).

senziellas. *C. & E.* 1 (p. 494, l. 2). Diez referred this word to * **simplicellus**, but Cornu (*Romania*, IX, 137) and Baist (*Ztschr. f. rom. Phil.*, IV, 475) find the derivation from * **simplicellus** impossible and propose instead * **singellus** = **singulus** (cf. * **macellam** for **maculam**).

This sound-development, **ng'**, **rg'** to *nz*, *rz*, seems well assured, but it is none the less a surprising phenomenon that has not been satisfactorily explained. A theory of dissimilation has been put forward. Thus Meyer-Lübke (*Gramm.*, I, § 496): "Tönende Laute werden nach *r*, *n* tonlos: **nġ** zu *nč*, **rġ** zu *rč*;" — (*ibid.*, § 499) "Von den dissimilatorischen Erscheinungen treffen wir **nġ** zu *nk̇* in Sizilien und Südapulien; **rg'** zu *rk'* im Spanischen. . . . Das span. *encia* frz. *gencive* zeigen wohl Dissimilation: **ginkiva* statt *gingiva*, eine Dissimilation die sehr alt sein muss. Im spanischen *sencillo* = **singellu** liegt Einfluss von **sincerus** vor, freilich steht auch *uncir* neben *uñir*. . . . SPARGERE *esparcer*, * ERGERE *ercer*, * ARGINE *arcén*, ARGILLA *arcilla*. Wenn daneben aspan. *arienzo* (ARGENTEUS) steht, so kann sich die Abweichung aus der Qualität des folgenden Vokals oder aus Dissimilationstrieb erklären." He is plainly not inclined to admit the change **ng'** to *nk'* in Spanish, but his examples, *renzilla* and *uncir*, which permit of no other obvious explanation, seem to necessitate admitting its existence there.[1] For *rk'* as well as *nk'* there is, however, this difficulty to be encountered, that **c** (*e*, *i*) in Old Spanish yields not *z*, but *ç*, when preceded by a consonant, even though that consonant be *r* or *n*: cf. *carçel*, *merçed*, *torçer*, *vençer mançebo*.

How, then, is the voiced *z* to be accounted for? It might be argued that **c** (*e*, *i*) after a consonant (as in **carcerem**, **vincere**) was prevented from giving a voiced sibilant, because the consonant before it did not allow it to voice, that **g** (*e*, *i*) after a consonant (as in **spargere**, **ringere**) already possessed the voiced sound of **c** (*e*, *i*), and that, therefore, if it assibilated at all, it would have to yield a voiced result. But to this it must be objected that the series of sound changes was probably quite different, that for **c** (*e*, *i*) becom-

[1] Cf. Diez, *Gramm.*, 3d ed., I, 269; Cornu, *Romania*, IX, 136; Baist, *Ztschr. f. rom. Phil.*, IV, 475.

ing *z* assibilation preceded the voicing, and that, accordingly, we cannot start from g (*e*, *i*) and assume a posterior assibilation, but must assume first unvoicing of the *g* by dissimilation (*ng'–nk'*, *rg'–rk'*), then assibilation of *nk'*, *rk'*, and finally a voicing again to *nz'*, *rz'*. How, now, is this final voicing to take place after a consonant? It may be maintained that after *r* or *n*, assimilation could produce the voiced sound, but then we end with something like a *reductio ad absurdum* of the theory with which we started, inasmuch as we confer unlimited powers of assimilation and dissimilation upon *r* and *n*.

So, starting with a theory of dissimilation we find that the *z* baffles explanation, and the only course left to us seems to be that of accepting an actual shift of *nž*, *rž* to *nz*, *rz*, a shift which Baist (*Rom. Forschungen*, IV, 402) regards as pre-Arabic and therefore independent of any change of *g'im* to *zāy* on Spanish soil.[1] Why the palatal quality was lost after *r* and *n* remains unexplained. For additional cases of modern *nc*, *rc* = ng', rg', in which for lack of trustworthy Old Spanish forms the voiced quality of the sibilant is not certain, see *Romania*, III, 161; IX, 136 ff.; *Ztschr. f. rom. Phil.*, IV, 475 ff.

(*K*) Old Spanish *rz* apparently from r + cy and r + s.

arzon. *Cid* 4 (vv. 717, 733, 818, 3617). From * arcionem.

almorzar. *Cid*, *almorzado* 1 (v. 3375); *almuerzas* 1 (v. 3384). From * admorsare.

tez. *Lab.* 1 (no. 73, l. 10). From tersus.

In these cases *r* is again seen to prefer *z* after it, contrary to the usual principles of phonetic development.[2] * Arcionem should appear as *arçon;* cf. Fr. *arçon* and see below, pp. 46 f., *arçobispo* and *cierço.* Perhaps Arabic influence has in some way modified the sibilant of * admorsare, as it probably has the initial syllable ad > *al.* For *tez* the etymon tĕrsus is not at all assured, as the treatment of the *ĕ* alone makes it suspicious. In *Ztschr. f. rom. Phil.*, VII, 123, Baist proposes tensus, but does not insist upon it.[3]

---

[1] Cf. Dozy and Engelmann, *Glossaire*, p. 17.

[2] For *z* after *r*, *n*, see Horning, *Lat. C*, p. 91, and Meyer-Lübke, *Gramm.*, I, § 513. In the latter place, *azon* is a misprint for *arzon.*

[3] Cuervo, *Revue hispanique*, II, 20, cites, as obscure in origin, the Old Spanish *destroçar.* This has been associated with thyrsus, θύρσος, but it seems phonetically

(*L*) Old Spanish *nz* from **nty**.

fronzir. *Cid*, *fronzida* 4 (vv. 789, 1744, 2436, 2437). *Lab.*, *frunzir* 1 (no. 65, v. 49). From * **frontio**, * **frontire**.

bronze. *Lab.* 5 (no. 22, vv. 4, 12, 20, 28, 36). From **bronteam** or **brontiam** (see Körting, *Wörterb.*).[1]

To these may be added the *arienzo* (= **argenteus**) of the *San Millan*, stz. 473 (see *Romania*, XIII, 297), in case the *z* of the word is certain. In all three of the words it is hard to understand why **nty** should have developed into *nz*, when it regularly develops into *nç* in *començar*, *ynfançon*, *trenças*, *çimençera* and the verbal abstracts in *-ança* (= **antia**); see below, pp. 40 ff.

(*M*) Old Spanish final *z* apparently from Latin final **s**.

This *z* appears in the patronymic ending *-z*, *-ez*, which occurs with great frequency.

Cid: — *Albarez*, vv. 442, 739, 1719, etc.; *Antolinez*, 65, 70, 79, etc.; *Assurez*, 3008, 3689; *Diaz*, 15, 58, 470, etc.; *Fanez*, *Albarfanez*, 14, 378, 387, etc.; *Felez*, 741, 2618, 2623, etc.; *Fariz*, 654, 760, 769, etc.; *Garçiaz*, 1996, 1999; *Garçiez*, 3071; *Gonçalez*, *Goçalez*, *Gonzalez*, 2558, 3008, 3236, 2172; *Gomez*, 3443, 3457; *Gormaz*, 2843, 2875; *Gustioz*, 737, 1458, 1481, etc.; *Muñoz*, 738, 741, 1992, etc.; *Ordoñez*, 1345, 2042, 3053; *Saluadorez*, 443, 739, 1681; *Tellez*, 2814; *Vermuez*, 611, 689, 704, etc.; *Ximenez*, 3417, 3422; *Simenez*, 3394.

Caza: — *Aluarez*, p. 3, ll. 28, 29; *Ferrandiz*, 40, 3; *Gomez*, 8, 12; cf. *Gomes*, 3, 29; 40, 5; 46, 7; *Lopez*, 44, 3; *Mendez*, 8, 12; *Paez*, 8, 12; *Royz*, 44, 1; *Velez*, 80, 6.

A. J. & B.: — *Arachiz*, p. 360, l. 40, etc., altogether 10 times, cf. *Arachi*, 363, ll. 6, 24, 34 and 366, 17; *Barachiz*, 387, 37, but *Barachia* 388, 24, etc., *Barachias* 396, 12.

Lab.: — *Marihernandez*, no. 72, v. 12.

---

possible to derive it from * **distructiare**; **ty** after a consonant became Old Spanish *ç*, as in * **indirectiare**–*endreçar* (see pp. 41 ff.). Whether between vowels or after a consonant, the combination **cty** seems to have become *ç* (cf. above, p. 18, note).

[1] **Brunitius** (Körting, *Wörterb.*, s.v.) and **aes Brundisium** (*ibid.*, *Nachtrag*, no. 1358) have also been proposed for *bronze*.

With *-s* instead of *-z*, the *Caza* has *Gomes*, 3, 29; 40, 15; 46, 7: *Martines*, 9, 25; 81, 14: *Nuñes*, 39, 29: *Peres*, 42, 15: *Peris*, 42, 10: *Rodrigues*, 80, 5. Compare the other cases already noted, in which the *Caza* apparently has *s* for *z* (see above, p. 11).

Diez (*Gramm.*, 3d ed., I, 365) derived this *z* from a Latin genitive **s**. Phonetically this is an impossible development, as final *-z* must have meant *ts*, and there is no obvious way by which the dental could have entered here. Prince Bonaparte (*Academy*, XXI, 121, 175, 250) ascribes the patronymic suffix to a Basque origin, the particle *ez*, which, seemingly, has a genitive force. Whether it is really a remnant of the Iberian speech or not can hardly be declared with certainty, but, at all events, the supposed Latin source must be abandoned. Can the *z* be due to the Latin patronymic ending *-des?* The same phonetic difficulty is raised by *Cadiz* (*Lab.*, no. 61, v. 44), the *z* of which Diez (l.c.) also referred to an **s**. The initial *c* of *Gadiz*, instead of the initial *g* of **Gades**, hints that the latter is not, without more ado, to be regarded as the source of the Spanish name.[1]

(*N*) Old Spanish *z* apparently from Germanic *s*.

leznes 'smooth.' *Caza*, p. 9, l. 23. *A. J. & B.*, p. 347, 6; 349, 29; 372, 37, *deleznable.*

arcabuzeros. *Lab.*, no. 46, v. 32.

Whether the *z* of *lezne*, *deleznable* is voiced or not is uncertain, as *z* may represent *ç* before the initial consonant of a following syllable, just as it means *ts* at the end of a word. At all events a Germanic **s** could not be expected to yield either of the dental sibilants *z* and *ç* in Spanish. In the present case the Germanic etymon with **s** is entirely hypothetical. Presumably *lezne*, *deleznable* are to be asso-

[1] Place-names and personal appellations of a source not readily perceptible have not been taken up here. Quite a number of such, with *z* or *ç*, appear throughout the texts. There is a notable variation between *z* and *ç* in *Gonçalo*, *Gonzalo*, *Gonçalez* and *Gonzalez*. The *ç* is probably the correct form of the sibilant here; scribal assimilation will explain the *z* of *Gonzalez*, which probably spread to *Gonzalo*. See *Cid*, vv. 2558, 3008, 3236, 3291, 3353, 3373, 3671, 3673; 2441, 3008, 3689; 2172, 2286, 2288, 2527.

ciated with *lizne* 'smooth,' *deleznar* 'to slip,' which Körting, *Wörterb.*, s.v. **laisa**, following E. Mackel, *Die germanischen Elemente in der französischen und provenzalischen Sprache* (*Französische Studien*, VI, 1 ff.), p. 108, refers to the Germanic *laisa*. In sense *lezne* also corresponds to the French *lisse*, which Diez and Mackel (l.c., p. 111) derive from the Germanic *lisja* O. H. G. *lisi, and to which answer the Spanish *liso* 'even,' 'plain' and *alisar* 'to plane.' But as the subject is merely speculative and the phonetic difficulties are considerable, the supposed sources must be doubted.[1]

Arcabuzero rests upon *arcabuz*, from the Dutch **haakbus**, under the influence of **arcus**. The word was thought to come from the Arabic *al-caus* (the final letter is *sīn*, which in Old Spanish regularly appears as *ç*) = 'a bow,' but in Dozy and Engelmann, p. 374, it is shown that such is not the case. It is there stated, however, that the Arabic used the word *al-kâbus* with final *sīn*. This was simply an adaptation of the Germanic word, and possibly it is responsible for the *z* of *arcabuz*, since final *sīn* regularly appears in Spanish as final *z*.[2] This *z*, being voiceless in value, should not appear in the intervocal position, as in *arcabuzero*, but, as in *arriazes*,[3] the *z* may there be only graphical and due to the analogy of *arcabuz*.

(*O*) Old Spanish *z* apparently from Latin **st**.
See below, pp. 73 ff.

2. Ç.

(*A*) Old Spanish *ç* from Latin initial **c** followed by *e* (*ae*), *i*. On this point the texts show perfect unanimity.[4]

Altspanische Glossen: — cierto; celebrare; acertaret. The use of *z* in l. 180, *zierta*, is doubtless merely graphical, as Old Spanish did not, in general, tolerate *z* in the initial position, and there even reduced an original *z* to *c*.[5]

---

[1] See Körting, *Wörterb.*, s.v. *laisa, lis, lisja, lista, līcium.*

[2] See below, pp. 62 ff.

[3] See below, p. 62.

[4] As the evidence tends only one way, it has not seemed necessary to quote page and line references for the examples adduced.

[5] A similar instance is no. 66, *zeta*, in case the word comes from **citat**.

Misterio: — *certas; celo, cilo* (caelum); *celestrial; celar; percibistes, percebida.* For the last two examples, as for *acertaret* especially (in the *Glossen*), it must be assumed that the force of the prefix was felt, and that therefore an originally initial *c* was still treated as such.

Poème d'Amour: — *çimas; çerca; çentura, çinta.*

Débat: — *çepa* (* cĭppa); *çiego.*

Cid: — *çelada* 7; *çena çenado; çeuada* (= cibata) 4; *çerca* with derivative verb forms 21, *açerca* 3; *rreçebir* and parts 42; v. 974 *diçe*, v. 1394 *deçido*, v. 1756 *diçiendo* (= decidere, cf. Cornu, *Romania*, VIII, 595)[1]; *çibdad, çipdad* (= civitatem) 6; *çiclaton* (cf. cyclas, κυκλάς) 5; *çiego; çielo* 14; *çiento* 25, v. 1490 *doçientos; çinco* (= * cinque) 4, *çinquenta* (* cinquaginta) 3; *çinchas* 5, *çintura* 2, *çinen, çinxo* 7, *çinxiestes* 6, *çintas; açertaron.*

Açerca, rreçebir, doçientos, açertaron, diçe deçido diçiendo follow the rule assumed above for originally initial *c* (*e, i*).

Vision: — *çielos* 2; *çisnes; çima; çiegos; çerca* and verb forms 7; *çesados, çesauan; çierto* 11; *rresçebir, rreçebydo, rreçebias; exçesos.* The *s* of *rresçebir* is excrescent, being due to the frequency with which it appears in the combination *-sc-* of inchoative verbs.

Disputa: — *cientos; çercaua; çimiento* (caementum).

C. & E.: — *çerca* and verb 7, *açercando; reçebir* and parts 17, *reçibimiento, concebido; çierto* 44; *açierta* (verb); *çielo* 21; *çinco* 5; *çima* 2; *çiervos; çentipeas; çierço* (= * cercius) 3; *cigueñas, ciguñuelas; ciznes; çieno* (= caenum; emended from MS. *çieuo* by Gräfenberg; see his edition, p. 506, l. 21); *cirurgiano; çipreses* (κυπάρισσος; cupressus, cyparissus) *çernicalos, çernicoles* 'kestrel' (see Körting, *Wörterb.*, s.v.* cernicalum); *concerte* (verb, perhaps = concertare, though Diez mentions consertare).

Stb.: — *çibdad* 2; *çierto* 4, *çiertamente* 2, *çertifican; çeder, exçeder, preçede; çiña, çintas, çeñido; çerca* 6, *çercado, çercano* 5, *açerca* 5; *çitara; çerco* (= circum) 3; *çielo* 13, *çelestriales; çera* 6; *conçibe, conçeptos; reçebidos, resçibe* 2, *resçiben; çinco* 5; *ençima* 5; *çetrinos, çetrinas; Çirçe; çerual* 3; *çentro; çerebro; çelidonia* (χελιδόνιον) 4; *çeraunio* (κεραύνιος) 7.

---

[1] Baist, *Ztschr. f. rom. Phil.*, VI, 169, regards descendere as the etymon. Körting, *Wörterb.*, has the word under decidere.

Caza: — *çerca* 43, *açerca* 3; *çegaron; çieno* 2; *cigueñas* and diminutives 5; *çinquenta, çinco* 6; *çera* 3; *cernido* 'sifted,' (= **cernere**); *çerçeta* 3, *çercetero* (widgeon, = (1) **querquedula**, * **cercedula** with suffix change — see Diez and Körting; or (2) a formation from **circus** — see Körting); *çiernos; çient, çientos; cespedes* 2; *çierço; çielo* 2, *çelestriales; çebar, çeuar* and parts 36; *çierto* 11; *çima* 4, *ençima* 5; *açerto* (verb); *sobrecejas.*

A. J. & B.: — *ciego* (= **caecum**) 6, *çiego* (= **caecavit**); *çeliçio* 6 (= **cilicium**; p. 387, l. 31 *seliçio* may show dissimilation or may be erroneous); *çerca* and verb forms 23, *çercano* 3, *açerca; çierto* 32, *çiertamente, çertedumbre* 2, *certeficar, çertefico; çielo* 26, *çelestial* 14; *çincuenta, çinco* 3; *çiudat* 24, *çiudadano* 9; *çient çiento* 6; *çella; çeñido* 2; *çesa* (= **cessat**), *çeso* (= **cessavit**); *çisne; citola* (= **cithara**); *cieruo* 3; *çebolla* (= * **cēpŭlla**); *çera, çirios; çircumçidado, çircumçision; çiclo; çenar; çimiento; proçesiones; conçebido; rresçibir* and parts 23, *rresçibimiento, rresçibidero;* p. 364, l. 5 *ençimar* (= to bring up, rear).

Lab: — *cielo* 46; *Cinthia; ciego* 13, *cegays, cegueys; cerca* and verb 4; *Celia* 7; *cierto* 8; *cessar* 2; *exceden, excesso, excessina, sucesso* 2, *sucessor* 2, *concede; ciudad* 2; *cipreses; cidro; cien ciento* 5; *centro; cenar, caracena; cisne* 2; *ceniza* 2; *cera; ceja* 5; *cintura; celebre, celebremos; ceremonias; cinco; cierço; Cesares; precepto; concerto, concertaron; encertar; acierto, acierte; acetar* 2, *concetos.*

(*B*) Not only did the initial voiceless **c** (*e, i*) of Latin remain as a voiceless sound in Old Spanish, but also initial voiced **z** of Latin (Greek) words was changed to the voiceless *ç*: —

Vision: — *rreçelo* (= ζῆλος, **zelus**), p. 58, l. 33.

C. & E.: — *reçelo* 3, *reçelando* 3, *reçellado, reçelauan* (p. 464, l. 26, etc.); *çumo* (= ζωμός), p. 509, l. 4.

Stb.: — *çumo* 3 (p. 16, l. 20, etc.).

Caza: — *rreçelo* 2 (p. 22, l. 11, etc.), *reçele* (verb); *çanco* 7 (p. 10, l. 29, etc.), see G. Meyer in *Ztschr. f. rom. Phil.*, XVI, 524, where he shows, following P. de Lagarde, that the source of this word is not, as Diez thought, the Germanic *zinke* or *scanca*,[1] but the

[1] Cf. M. Goldschmidt, *Altgermanisches im Spanischen* (Lingen, 1887), p. 60: "Wie aber lat. **scambus** im span. *zambo* geworden ist, so hat sich auch germ.

Persian **zanga** 'leg,' whence derive the Syrian *zanc* 'shoe,' Greek τσάγγα 'shoe' and L. L. **zanka** 'shoe.' Paris (*Romania*, XXII, 319) has accepted this etymon, which was also indicated by Baist (*Rom. Forschungen*, IV, 397).

These instances should lead us to argue that Old Spanish did not tolerate the voiced sound *z* at the beginning of a word. Yet two of our texts, the *A. J. & B.* and the *Laberinto*, the latter being our latest document, retain the initial *z* of Greek and Arabic. Perhaps the retention has only a graphical and etymological significance. The forms of Greek origin occurring are: —

A. J. & B.: — p. 370, l. 1, *Zeto* (= the proper name **Zethus**); p. 370, l. 16, *zelotes* (= ζηλωτής).

Lab.: — *zelos* 18; *rezelos*; *zeloso* 6, *rezela* (verb); *zelogias* 3; *zefiro*.

(*C*) Old Spanish *ç* from Latin **c** preceded by a consonant and followed by *e* or *i*.[1]

Altspanische Glossen: — *incentitu*; *occisiones*, *occidunt*; *conceillo*; *acetore* (= * **acceptorem**); *pasceret*; *obetereiscitu*[2] (seemingly a verb based on **vetus, veterem**); *naisceset*. In no. 62 *naiserenso*, the *c* was probably omitted by mistake; like *naisceset*, the form comes from **nascor, * nascere.**

Misterio: — *nacido* 11, *nacida* 3; *occidente*; *acenso*, *encenso*; *ofrecremos*[3]; *pertenecera*.

Poème d'Amour: — *mancebo*; *naçia*, *naçi*; *rressuçetarya*; *conoçia* 2, *connoçi*.

Débat: — *vençuda*.[4]

---

sk- zuweilen in *z-* gewandelt, so in dem inschriftlich belegten *Zerezindo* 6. jh. = * *skari-swinhô* P. B. VIII, 455 und so in dem lehnwort *zanca* = germ. (ae.) **skanca.**" We now know that the latter Germanic word is not the source of the Spanish word, and we may be pardoned for doubting that the change of *sc* to *z* took place in either the other Germanic word or the Latin word which Goldschmidt mentions. He acknowledges that German *sc(a)* remained in all other cases in Spanish, and it is pretty certain that Latin *sc* remained: cf. *escala*, *escalmo*, *escaño*, *escándalo*.

[1] The abundance and the conclusive nature of the evidence render it unnecessary to cite exact references for the words quoted.

[2] *Ztschr. f. rom. Phil.*, XIX, 1 ff., no. 7.

[3] The cedilla is not written at all in the *Misterio* or the *Glossen*.

[4] The *Fragmento* has only one case of a cons. + **c** (*e*, *i*) word, and in that writes *z*, *amanezient*; but this *z* means *c*, as the text, not writing *ç* at all, and

Cid: — *carçel; dulçe* 2; *estonçes* (v. 2227, *estonze* is a mistaken form due to the influence upon *estonçes* of *esto*[*n*]*z* (v. 2692) with a properly written final *z* having the value of *ç*[1]); *merçed* 32; *vençer* and parts 24 (in v. 2330 *vencremos* the cedilla has been forgotten); *coñosçe* 3, *connosçie, coñosçio, coñosçedores* 2; *creçer* and forms 24; *deçendieron; meçio* (from **miscere**); *naçio* 16; *nasçio* 1; *naçido* 71; *rresuçitest* 2. This *ç* appears most frequently in the inceptive verbs, as *acaeçiere; amaneçio; amorteçidas; escarneçe; falleçiere;* forms of *gradeçer* 5; *mereçer* and parts 7; *offreçieron; pareçen* 3, *pareçra,*[2] *apareçist, aparecidos; perteneçen, perteneçien; rremaneçio, rromaneçiere.*

Vision: — *mançebia, mançebos; deçendia; dulçe* 3, *dulçor; entonçe* 2, *estonçe* 2; *vençer; rresuçite; ençe*[*n*]*dimiento; naçida* 2, *naçiese; padecer;* parts of *conosçer* 5; *enpobreçias; acaeçio;* parts of *paresçer* 11, *aparesçio; enrrequeçido; entrestyçio; estableçe; careçen, encareçen; crece, creçen, acreçiste, rrecreçio; ensandeçe; conteçe; envejeçiesen; podreçe; mereçe;* parts of *aborreçer* 3, *aborreçibre.*

Disputa: — *bollesçer, rebollescer; estorçer* (* **extorcere**); *guaresçer; meresçemiento; mudeçiste; paresçe.*

C. & E.: — *açores* (= * **acceptores**) 8; *calçadonias* (cf. **Chalcedon**); *chançeller; conosçer* and parts 22, *conosçimiento; creçe* 3, *creçen, cresçen, acresçentar, acresçenta, acreçentaua; descendio* 2; *dulces* 2; *entonçe* 12, *estonçe; mançebo* 11, *mançebia* 3; *merçed* 23; *murciego*[3] (* **mus caecus**), *morçiellagos;* parts of *naçer* 16; *occidente* 2, *accidente* for *occidente* 8; *rresusçitaremos, resuçito; sçiençia* 21; *uençe; acaesçer* etc. 24, *acaeçimientos; adolesçe, adolesçen* 2; *adormeçio; conteçe* 2, *conteçen, conte*(*n*)*çio; enbrauesçer; enflaqueçer; enpeçer* etc. 4, *enpesçe; envegeçe, envegeçen; fallecer, falleçederas; gradesçer* 2, *gradeçer* etc. 6; *gra*[*n*]*desçer*[4]; *guareçer* etc. 3; forms of *mereçer* 6; *mereçimiento* 13; *paresçer* etc. 26 (*s* omitted four times); *pertenesçer* etc. 23 (*s* omitted in nine cases).

---

using *z* for it before *o* and *u* (*lenzuelo, corazon*), here erroneously extends the use of the *z* (= *ts*) to the position before *i*. [1] Menéndez Pidal has *estoz*.

[2] In a few cases of syncope of a vowel, as here, *ç* is allowed to remain before a following consonant.

[3] *C. & E.*, p. 503, l. 17 *marçiecos* and p. 502, 19 *muraçicos* may be disguised forms of this word.

[4] P. 464, l. 10: the *n* must be supplied as the sense requires *grandesçer*.

Caza: — *açor* 13,[1] but *azor* 7.[2] — In view of the fact that *açor* alone is found in the *C. & E.*[3] and the *A. J. & B.*,[4] *azor*, the less frequent form here, must be regarded as erroneous. Tailhan, in *Romania*, VIII, 609, has treated of this word, arguing for the etymon *acceptor and the development acceptor — *aztor–açor*. The *z* of *aztor* is, of course, not the voiced *z*, but the representative of the voiceless *ç*, which was necessarily written *z*, when, as the result of the syncopation of the vowel, it stood at the end of a syllable and before the initial consonant of the next syllable, just as *z* was also written for *ç*, that is, with the value *ts*, at the end of a word. When *tst* was reduced to *ts* (compare the similar change in *rezar* = recitare, *plazo* = placitum), then the necessity for writing the *z* disappeared, and the word was properly written *açor*.[5] The etymon *acceptor as opposed to astur is borne out by the form *acetore* of the *Glossen* (no. 272).

Çerceta 3, *çercetero; cresçiendo* 2, *acresçentar* 2; *conosçer* and forms 18, *desconosçidos*, *conosçençia* 6, *conosçimiento; desçender* and parts 14; *ençienço* (= incensum, the second *ç* being due to assimilation or the action of the *n*); *entonçe* 16, *estonçe* 5; forms of *nasçer* 58 (four cases with no *s*); *peçes* (= pisces); *rruçiar* (= *roscidare); *sçiençia* 3, *çiençia; toçino* (= tuccētum, with suffix change); *tuerçen*, *torçidos; vençer* and parts 10: *adolesçen; acaesçer* and parts 18, *acaescimientos; contesçe* 2, *contesçio* 2; *enbraueçe; enegresçer; esblandiçiere; enpeçe*, *enpesçe* 3, *enpeçen* (= *impedescere); *guaresçer* and parts 23; *meresçen; paresçer* and parts 13; *pertenesçer* 11; *podresçer*.

---

[1] P. 4, l. 12; 6, 26; 8, ll. 10, 14, 18, 19, 23; 26, 25; 46, 5; 67, ll. 2, 3, 4; 69, 6.
[2] P. 6, ll. 20, 27; 7, ll. 4, 8, 10; 8, ll. 4, 7.
[3] P. 501, ll. 1, 9; 502, ll. 5, 9, 10; 503, ll. 7, 11; 504, 15.
[4] P. 370, l. 40.
[5] Gröber, in *Miscellanea di filologia e linguistica dedicata alla memoria di Nap. Caix e Ugo A. Canello* (Florence, 1886), p. 42 ff., refers the Spanish word to astur. The change of st to *z* or *ç* is entirely unlikely, while the disappearance of the *t* of acceptorem, which he finds it difficult to account for, seems to admit of the above explanation. Baist, *Ztschr. f. franz. Sprache*, XIII, 184, declares for acceptorem and shows that Gröber's objection is not a serious one. Cf. also Paris in *Rom.*, XII, 100; XV, 452.

Stb.: — *Alçides; baçin* (= * **baccīnum**); *calçedon* 3, *calçedonios; carçel; çentellea* (verb); *Çirçe; conosçer* and parts 4; *desçiende; dulçes; ençender* etc. 9, *açendido; entonçe* 2; *exçitada; guarnesçe; lasçiuos; linçe* (= **lyncem**)[1]; *nasçer* and parts 13, *nasçimiento; prinçipio, prinçipal* 3, *prinçipalmente, prinçipado* 2; *reconçiliar* 3; *resplandesçer* etc. 24; *roçio* (= **roscidum**); *Sçiticas, Çithicas; uençer* etc. 13; — *adormesçer; acaesçimientos; caresçe, caresçen; cresçer* etc. 5, *crescimiento* 2, *acresçienta* 2, *descresçe; empeçer* and parts 4 (once with *sç*), *empeçibles* 2; *empedresçe; enardesçe; enduresçe; escuresçe; escuresçidos; euanesçe; desfallesçimiento; fauoresçiente; meresçer, meresçimientos* 2; *padesçe* 4, *padescen; paresçe* 3, *paresçen* 2; *pertenesçe.*

A. J. & B.: — *acoçeados* (verb based on **calcem** — *coz, coce*); *açor; arborciello* (= **arbor-** + **cellum** rather than **-icellum**: cf. p. 9 *pastorzillo*[2]) 5; *carçel* 2; *çircumçidado, çircumçision; conosçer* and parts 48, *conosçençia* 8, *conosçimiento;* forms of *cresçer* 3, *acrescentando, acresçentaron; desçender* and parts 6, *deçendido; desçiplina; desçipolos* 3; *dulçe* 8, *dulçedumbre* 7, *dulçemente; ençender* and parts 12; *entuerçe* (= * **intorcet**); *estonçe* 37, *entonçe* 26; *mançebo* 17, *mançebia* 4; *merçed* 12, *amerçeador; nasçer* and parts 16, *nasçimiento* 4, *nasçençia* 6; *pasçer* etc. 4, *apasçiese; prinçipe* 27; *rruçio* (= **roscidus**); *sçiençia* 2, *çiençia* 2, *consçençia, conçençia* 2; *vençer* and parts 14, *vencedores, vençimiento* 5: — *aborresçer* and parts 4, *aborresçible* 6, *aborresçedor; acaesçer* and parts 17; *adormiçio; caresçiente; enardesçe; encruelesçer* 2; *ennoblesçe; enpesçe; escarnesçer* and parts 8; *esclaresçio; escorrescidos* (from * **obscurescere**), *obscurelesçer;* parts of *establesçer* 16, *establesçimiento; fallesçer* and parts 5, *defallesçer* and parts 7, *fallesçimiento* 3, *defallesçimiento; fenesçian; flaquesçer* etc. 2; *gradesçiente, gradesçible* 2, *desgradesçidos* 2; *guaresçere, guaresçian; guarnesçio* 2; *magresçido; meresçer* etc. 7, *meresçimiento* 5; *negresçido, ennegresçe; obedesçer* etc. 18; *ofresçer* and parts 5; *paresçer* and parts 19, *paresçençia, aparesçio;*

---

[1] Not **lynceam**, as one might infer from Meyer-Lübke, *Gramm.*, I, § 513. **Lynceam** gave *onça;* see p. 47.

[2] The question of suffix boundaries seems here concerned: **-ellum** had beside it the form **-cellum**, due to misapprehension of the limits of stem and suffix, and so **-icellum** may have arisen by the side of **-cellum**.

aparesçieron; peresçer and parts 6; *peresçedera; pertenesçer* and parts 6; *rresplandesçiente* 15, *rresplandesçia* 3, *rresplandesçimiento; tristeçer*, etc. 5, *entristeçer* 7 (once with *sç*), *contristeçes; vejeçido* 2, *envejeçido* 3.

Lab.:—*acentos; bacinilla; carcel* 2; *cedula* (= **schedulam**); *centella* (= **scintillam**) 3; *ciencia, conciencia; dulce* 15; *entonces* 2; *excelencia* 2; *Françesillo; incendio, encender* and parts 5; *incienso; lince* 5; *mancebos* 3; *merced; Narcisa* 3; *peces* (= **pisces**); *porcelana; rancias; rocio* 2; *tuerce* 3; *vencer* and parts 4; *Barcelona: aborrecer*, etc. 4; *agradecido; amanecer* and parts 5; *anochecio* 2 (no. 29, v. 5 *anochezistes* must be erroneous); *apacentar* and parts 2; *bastecida; crecer* and parts 6, *acrecienta* 2; *desfauorecido; desuanecimiento; endurece; enriquece; enternecido; escureciendo; fenece; guarnecida; merecer* and parts 4, *merecimiento; ofrecer* and parts 3; *nacer* and parts 18; *parecer* and parts 12.

Where the consonant before the **c** (*e, i*) was **s**, the examples show that the Spanish assibilated *ç* absorbed the *s*, which, except in the inchoative verbs, was generally not written, e.g. *çiençia* (but also *sçiençia*), *çentella, Çithicas* (also *Sçiticas* = **Scythicas**), *cedula*, etc. In the inchoative and other Latin **-sc-** verbs the *s* appears frequently, through the analogy of the forms in which *-sc-* stands before *a, o*. The no less frequent absence of the *s* shows that it cannot have been pronounced before *e, i*. The *Cid* (14th century) writes the *s* but a few times,[1] the *Lab.* (end of 16th and beginning of 17th century) not at all, and C. Oudin, in his *Grammatica hispanica* (Cologne, 1607), says, when treating of the sound of *ç*, "Inveniuntur dictiones Hispanicae, quae modò per *sc*, modò per *c* scribuntur simpliciter; sed nullum habent in pronuntiatione discrimen vt *merescer, merecer*."

(*D*) Old Spanish *ç* from Latin **ty** after a consonant.

The *Altspanische Glossen* have one instance of this *ç*, no. 169 *tenienca* (= **tenentia**, no cedilla written in the *Glossen*), but in general they show a *z*, as no. 70 *forzaret* (= ***fortiarit**), no. 95 *gerranza* (= **errantia**), no. 161 *anzes* (= ***antius**). *Z* must have had the *ts*

[1] The cases are collected by F. Koerbs, *Untersuchung der sprachlichen Eigentümlichkeiten des altspanischen Poema del Cid* (Frankfurt am Main, 1893), p. 45.

value here, and was probably at this early date employed as a general symbol for both the voiced and the voiceless dental sibilants, *c* with the cedilla not having yet come into extensive use.[1]

Similarly the *Fragmento* (13th century) presents the word *lenzuelo* (= linteolum), p. 61, l. 1, and writes *z* for the later normal *ç* of *coraçon*, p. 61, l. 7, and *amanezient*, p. 60, l. 2.[2] The *Débat* has only the learned word *entençion*, l. 68, but the *Poème* has *cryança*, l. 7. The remaining texts uniformly exhibit *ç*.

Adeuinanças. *Stb.*, p. 20, l. 6.

alabança. *Stb.*, p. 5, l. 20; 9, 16; 29, 21. *A. J. & B.*, p. 353, l. 43; 354, 19; 367, 25; 380, 42; 396, ll. 3, 27.

alçar, etc. *Cid* 15 (vv. 216, 355, 577, 726, etc.). *Vision*, p. 53, l. 17; 58, 40. *Disputa*, stz. III, v. 3. *A. J. & B.* 13 (p. 339, l. 9; 343, 33; 344, 22; etc.); *ensalçado*, p. 355, l. 44; *ensalçes*, p. 389, l. 27. *Lab.*, no. 29, v. 24; 69, 13: *ensalças*, 47, 12.

amança. *A. J. & B.*, p. 350, l. 7; 391, 27; 394, 9; 396, 4.

amistança. *A. J. & B.*, p. 336, l. 28; 338, 9; 366, 3; 382, 21.

andança. *C. & E.*, p. 458, l. 6; 464, ll. 13, 16; 515, 25. *A. J. & B.*, *bienandança*, p. 334, l. 10; 335, 10; 358, 3; 365, ll. 14, 31; 378, 40: *malandança*, p. 390, l. 2.

aparçeria. *Vision*, p. 53, ll. 27, 30 (cf. note, *Ztschr. f. rom. Phil.*, II, 53).

arribança. *Cid*, v. 512.

assechança. *Stb.*, p. 33, l. 7. *Lab.*, no. 43, v. 14.

biltança. *Cid*, v. 3704.

caça. *Cid*, *caçado*, v. 1731. *C. & E.*, *caça* 14 (p. 445, l. 12; 477, 25; 496, 2; etc.): *caçar*, etc. 50 (p. 495, l. 30; 496, 2, etc.): *caçador*, p. 498, l. 26; 501, 6; 503, 10: *caçadora*, p. 496, l. 11: *caçadera*, p. 501, l. 20. *Caza*, *caça* 128 (p. 2, ll. 14, 18, 21; etc.): *caçar*, etc. 175 (p. 2, ll. 17, 21; etc.): *caçador* 19 (p. 3, ll. 5, 13, 18; etc.). *A. J. & B.*, *caçar*, p. 339, l. 11; 361, 25: *caçador*, p. 370, l. 32: *caçadera*, p. 370, l. 26. *Lab.*, *caça*, no. 20, v. 9; 37, 5; 49, 32.

---

[1] Cf. Horning's introduction to Bartsch's *La langue et la littérature françaises* (Paris, 1887), § 143, for *efforzat* and *nunzat* in the Old French version of the *Dialogues* of Pope Gregory.

[2] See p. 35, note 4.

çimençera (= * **sementiaria**, see *Caza*, p. 112). *Caza*, p. 74, ll. 9, 14; 75, 7; 77, 6; 79, 25.

començar (= * **cumin'tiare**). *Vision* 8 (p. 51, ll. 6, 11; 53, 20; etc.). *C. & E.* 18 (p. 446, ll. 10, 11; 447, 14; etc.): *comiençio* (noun) 5 (p. 447, l. 8; 449, 8; etc.). *Stb.*, p. 18, l. 5: *comienços*, p. 22, l. 13. *Caza* 25 (p. 5, l. 2; 14, 27; etc.): *comiençio*, p. 24, l. 5. *A. J. & B.* 16 (p. 332, l. 12; 340, 4; etc.): *comiençio* 9 (p. 336, l. 25; 338, 37; etc.): *escomençio*, p. 373, l. 13. *Lab.*, no. 36, v. 41; 39, 9; 55, 7.

criança. *C. & E.*, p. 486, l. 2; 511, 8. *Caza*, p. 19, l. 8.

desleatança. *Cid*, v. 1081.

disfraçado. *Lab.*, p. 20, v. 42. Körting derives the word from * **farsus** for **fartus**. It may rather come from a metathesized form of * **disfartiare**[1]; cf. Portuguese *disfarçar*.

dubdança. *Cid*, v. 597.

(*en*)*dereçar*, etc. *C. & E.*, p. 462, l. 32; 463, 23; 465, 4; 472, 26: *endereçador* 472, 25. *Stb.*, *aderesçar*, p. 3, l. 25. *Caza*, *endereçar*, etc., p. 31, l. 6; 64, 14: *enderesçar*, p. 52, l. 14. *A. J. & B.*, *aderesçar*, etc., p. 338, l. 26; 389, 40. In the *sç* forms, the *s* is inorganic. It is written here by reason of the frequency of its appearance in inceptive and other *sç* verbs. Its use here shows that it was not pronounced even where the combination *sç* was etymologically correct.

enseñança. *A. J. & B.* 16 (p. 333, ll. 9, 16; 337, 25; 346, 40; etc.).

esperança. *Cid*, v. 490. *Vision* 6 (p. 52, l. 33; 56, 45; etc.). *Caza*, p. 24, l. 4. *A. J. & B.* 23 (p. 337, l. 10; 338, 13; etc.). *Lab.* 14 (no. 8, v. 1; 9, 36; 26, 7; etc.). *C. & E.*, *sperança*, p. 493, ll. 11, 21; 510, 13; 511, ll. 22, 27; 512, 16.

fiança. *A. J. & B.*, p. 363, ll. 31, 32; 364, 17; 372, 2. *Lab.*, *confiança*, no. 47, v. 54: *desconfiança*, no. 54, v. 8.

fincança. *Cid*, v. 563.

folgança. *A. J. & B.*, p. 346, ll. 7, 36; 362, 23; 372, 17; 379, 27; 390, 4; 393, 24. *Lab.*, *holgança*, no. 62, v. 55.

fuerça. *Cid*, *fuerça*, vv. 34, 757, 1002, 1502, 2312, 3479; *forçudo*, v. 3673; *esforçar*, etc., vv. 171, 972, 2792, 2805; *esfuerço* (noun),

[1] See Körting, nos. 3150, 3151.

vv. 379, 2822. *Vision*, *fuerça*, p. 52, l. 27; 55, 15; 58, 38. *C. & E.*, *fuerça* 11 (p. 473, l. 22; 491, 7; etc.): *forçar*, etc., p. 476, l. 13; 491, 22; 499, 9: *esforçar*, etc. 13 (p. 475, ll. 20, 22; etc.): *esfuerço* 12 (p. 475, ll. 21; 476, 1; etc.); but p. 457, l. 16 *esforzado*, an error indicating the unvoicing of *z* in the 15th century.[1] *Stb.*, *fuerça* 13 (p. 2, l. 5; 3, 5; etc.): *forçar*, etc. 5 (p. 3, ll. 10, 21; etc.): *forçoso*, p. 2, l. 30: *esforço*, p. 33, l. 19. *A. J. & B.*, *fuerça* 14 (p. 346, l. 19; 348, 22; etc.): *forçada*, p. 365, l. 17: *forçaderos*, p. 375, l. 9: *esforçar*, etc. 18 (p. 333, l. 26; etc.): *esfuerço*, p. 342, l. 5. *Lab.*, *fuerça* 9 (no. 18, v. 40; 29, 19; etc.): *forçoso* 5 (no. 3, v. 23; etc.): *forçado*, no. 20, v. 23; 61, 47: *fuerça* (verb), no. 29, v. 40: *esfuerça*, no. 52, v. 14.

librança. *Lab.*, no. 8, v. 39.

lienço (= * lenteum). *Lab.*, no. 30, v. 15; 74, 20.

maço (= * matteum, cf. *Romania*, XVIII, 533 f.).[2] *A. J. & B.*, p. 370, l. 9.

março (= martium). *Cid*, v. 1619. *Caza*, p. 77, l. 18; 81, 17.

matança. *Cid*, v. 2435.

mudança. *Lab.*, no. 13, v. 39; 34, 7; 35, 23; 43, 15; 49, 60; 56, 32; 74, 37.

oluidança. *A. J. & B.*, *oluidança*, p. 341, l. 17; 351, 9: *oblidança*, p. 368, v. 23.

omildança. *Cid*, v. 2024.

ondrança. *Cid*, vv. 1578, 2188.

ordenança. *A. J. & B.*, p. 344, l. 14; 357, 38.

plaça (= * platteam, cf. *Romania*, XVIII, 533 f.). *Cid*, v. 595. *A. J. & B.*, p. 367, l. 3; 379, 25; 395, 19. *Lab.*, no. 12, v. 3.

ple(y)teança. *A. J. & B.*, p. 348, l. 47; 364, 20; 372, 18.

punçado (= * punctiatum). *A. J. & B.*, p. 345, l. 13; 350, 38; 373, ll. 3, 36: *apunçado*, p. 386, l. 13.

rremenbrança. *A. J. & B.*, p. 367, l. 16: *arremenbrança*, p. 393, l. 11.

---

[1] If, indeed, it be not a simple mistake in copying the MS.

[2] The form *maça d'armas* appears in an Old Spanish translation of the *Iliad*, of which Vollmöller has published some pages in *Studien zur Litteraturgeschichte, Michael Bernays gewidmet*, etc. (see p. 239, l. 8). The work is of the 15th century, being dedicated to the famous Marqués de Santillana.

semejança. *Vision*, p. 51, l. 32; 53, ll. 36, 38. *C. & E.*, p. 468, l. 6; 489, 8; but p. 485, l. 25 *semejanza:* cf. *esforzado*, s.v. *fuerça*, above. *Stb.*, p. 24, l. 21. *A. J. & B.* 16 (p. 332, l. 25; 333, 1; etc.).

syruiença. *Vision*, p. 56, l. 19.

tardanças. *Lab.*, no. 69, v. 39.

terçero. *Cid*, vv. 331, 523, 868, 938, 1030, 1113, 1533, 3131, 3635. *C. & E.* 9 (p. 446, l. 8; 450, 18; etc.). *Caza* 15 (p. 21, ll. 12, 17, 20; 24, 24; etc.). *A. J. & B.* 6 (p. 332, l. 17; 344, 36; etc.). *Lab.* 5 (no. 33, v. 4; etc.).

torçuelo. *Caza*, p. 67, l. 4.

trenças, 'tresses.' *Lab.*, no. 69, v. 9. Körting connects the word with * trintiare.

vços (= * ustium for ostium). *Cid*, v. 3. Meyer-Lübke, *Gramm.*, I, § 509, and Baist, *Ztschr. f. rom. Phil.*, IX, 148, refer to this word as *uzo*, but the *Cid* form has *ç*. With apparently this one exception, the combination -sty- palatalizes in Old Spanish, giving the result *x* (= *š*; cf. *quexar* from * quaestiare).[1] Here ty seems to have taken its usual course after a consonant, giving the dental sibilant *ç*, which then absorbed the *s*. That it should have done this will appear less surprising if it be borne in mind that the combination sc (*e*, *i*) regularly escaped palatalization in Old Spanish, while in other Romance languages in which -sty- palatalized, sc (*e*, *i*) did so too. Compare *Cid*, *naçio*, vv. 294, 2020, etc.; *naçido*, v. 71, with It. *nascere:* *uço* with *uscio*.[2]

vengança. *Lab.*, no. 19, v. 27; 43, 39.

ynfançon. *Cid*, vv. 2072, 2964, 3298, 3479.

(*E*) Old Spanish *ç* apparently from Latin dy after a consonant (*n*, *r*).

---

[1] Cf. Baist in *Ztschr. f. rom. Phil.*, IX, 148: "*Uzo* (P.C.) — *ostium*. Es ist das nicht *st*, sondern *stj* zu *z*. Es ist zu bemerken dass *stj*, *scj* sonst *x* ergeben wie in *uxero*. Verwandlung in *z* lässt also spätere Einführung vermuten."

[2] Baist, *Rom. Forschungen*, IV, 402, thinks that the *uzero* of the *Santo Domingo*, stz. 709, also comes from ostium (rather * ūstium), and not from the Arabic wiǵâr. In the text of the *Santo Domingo* as printed in Vol. LVII of the *Bibl. de autores españoles*, *z* and *ç* are not properly kept apart, so that *uzero* may stand for *uçero*.

verguença (= **verecundiam**). *Débat, desberconçada* 1 (v. 24). *Cid, verguença* 3 (vv. 1596, 3126, 3715); *envergonço* 1 (v. 2298). *C. & E., uerguença* 30.[1] *Stb., uergonçoso* 1 (p. 12, l. 17). *A. J. & B., verguença* 2 (364, 6; 368, 10); *enuergençen* 1 (391, 20). *Lab., vergonçoso* 1 (no. 62, v. 69).

verça (= * **verdia** for **viridia**, see *Grundriss*, I, 704). *A. J. & B., uerças* 1 (p. 348, l. 26); *berças* 1 (p. 392, l. 29).

garça (= * **cardius** or * **cardeus**, Körting; **carduus**, Diez). *C. & E., garça* 4, *garçeta* 2.[2] *Caza, garça* 139,[3] *garçero* 12,[4] *garçuela* 1.[5]

Upon *garça* no arguments can be based, since the origin of the word, which is probably the same as that of *garçon*, must be regarded as uncertain. Körting proposes * **cardeus** or * **cardius** instead of the **carduus** of Diez. The latter (*Wörterb.* s.v. *garzone*) derives It. *garzone*, Fr. *garçon* from **carduus** (thistle) and says: "Ist nicht auch it. sp. *garza* reiher identisch mit fr. *garce* mädchen, indem man den vom kopfe zurückwallenden federbusch dieses vogels mit dem herabfallenden kurzen haar eines kleinen mädchens verglich. . . . Sp. *garceta* heisst kleiner reiher und herabfallende haarlocke. Ueber den zweifelhaften arabischen ursprung des wortes s. Engelmann, p. 381." Engelmann (Dozy and Engelmann, p. 381) makes this statement: — "*Garza* (sorte d'oiseau, héron). P. de Alcalá traduit ce mot par . . . (*garça*). Je n'ose pas décider si c'est là un mot arabe, ou bien si ce n'est que la transcription du terme espagnol, dont il faudrait alors chercher l'origine ailleurs," and Dozy adds the note: "Quelle que soit l'origine de ce mot, il est certain qu'il n'est pas arabe."

Baist (*Ztschr. f. rom. Phil.*, VI, 426) starts with the Fr. *garce*, and doubts that *garce* and *garçon* proceed from * **carduus**, on account of difficulties in phonetic and sense development. Then connecting *garce* and *garça*, he makes, though he does not press, a suggestion, which, if it is rather ungallant, is not impossible so far as the sense is concerned: — "Ich sehe nicht ab, warum man span. *garza* nicht

---

[1] P. 455, ll. 2, 9; 457, ll. 4, 8, 10; etc.
[2] P. 502, ll. 13, 14; 503, ll. 23, 24; 504, 19.
[3] P. 4, l. 21; 5, 24; 6, 15; etc.
[4] P. 4, l. 21; 24, 4; 26, 21; etc.
[5] P. 80, l. 10.

zunächst mit frz. *jars* (*E. W.*, II[c]) vergleichen sollte: jenes Merkmal des Tieres, welches Diez in dem letzteren Worte findet, trifft auch für den Reiher zu, von dem das katal. Sprichwort sagt: *xarrar* [i.e. 'to gabble,' 'chatter'] *mes que una garsa*. . . . Auch *garce* war afrz. keineswegs ein edles Wort; ist es ursprünglich schimpfend vom Vogel übertragen, so brauchte es ebensowenig eine liederliche Dirne zu bezeichnen als etwa hd. schimpfend Gans. Dass übrigens neben der gewöhnlicheren Erniedrigung der Worte für *puer* auch eine begriffliche Erhöhung eintreten konnte, zeigt eben *gars–garçon*. Zum schimpflichen Vergleich konnte eine wenigstens in Deutschland wohl bekannte Gepflogenheit des Vogels den Anlass geben: das 'Sch. wie ein Reiher,'" etc.

In the *Ztschr. f. rom. Phil.*, XVIII, 281 f., Suchier resumes the argument for *garce* and *garçon*, conceives that the former is the original word, and, comparing it in its sense of "liederliche Dirne" with the German *Metze*, a shortened form of *Mehtild*, thinks it is probably a pet name from the Germanic *Garsindis*.

In all the articles quoted, the phonetic difficulties remain unsolved, and the sense explanations are merely speculative, so that, on the whole, the history of *garça*, *garce*, and *garçon* continues uncertain.

In *verguença* = verecundiam (observe that the sibilant is *ç*, not *z*) we have to encounter difficulties purely phonetic. The consonant combination **ndy** should give a palatalized *n*; cf. Meyer-Lübke, *Gramm.*, I, § 510: "*Ndi̯* wird zu *ń*: ital. *vergogna*, *sogna*, frz. *vergogne*, span. *vergüeña*, portg. *vergonha*, *rigonha* (*iracundia*). Im Span. finden wir *vergüenza* neben *vergüeña*, vielleicht ist letzteres erst vom Verbum *vergoñar* gewonnen." Now as Spanish has, like the other Romance languages, given a form with palatalized *n* (cf. *Libro de Cantares*[1] of the *Arçipreste de Fita*, stz. 255 *verguenna*, stz. 1634 *vergonnoso*), it seems safe to assume that this alone answers phonetically to verecundiam, and that *verguença* needs some other explanation. A very likely explanation is afforded by the large class of verbal abstracts in *-ança*,[2] to which, by virtue of its abstract nature and the great similarity of its termination, verecundiam was attracted. Baist

[1] *Bibl. de autores españoles*, LVII, 227 ff.

[2] See examples on pp. 40 ff.

(*Grundriss*, I, p. 704) disregards the existence of *vergueña* and makes the statement: "Nach *r* und *n* wird *ż* zu *z* . . . *verguenza* **verecundiam**, *orzuelo* **hordeolum**, *berza* * **verdia**."[1]

Verça is declared by Gröber (*Archiv f. lat. Lexikographie*, VI, 143) to be a loan-word from Italian, so that the development of **dy** in the word is not a Spanish phenomenon. As to *orzuelo* 'eye-tumor' = **hordeolum** from **hordeum**, in the absence of an Old Spanish form that would determine the original character of the consonant after the *r*, and in view of the fact that the primitive **hordeum** 'barley' has not survived in Spanish (*cebada* being the Spanish word), we may be justified in supposing that it is also a loan-word. A form * **hordiciolum** (see Körting, *Wörterb.* s.v. *hordiciolus*) might, with the syncopation of the first *i*, give an Old Spanish * *orçuelo*.

To sum up the result of the investigation of our four **dy** words, it seems tolerably certain that Latin *cons.* + **dy** did not yield Old Spanish *ç*, modern Spanish *z*, as a direct phonetic development.

(*F*) Old Spanish *ç* from Latin **cy** after a consonant.

Gloss no. 122 of the *Altspanische Glossen* has *brazaret* (* **bracchiare**), in which *z* represents *ç*, as yet little used before *a*, *o*, *u*.[2] In the *Misterio* and the three 13th century texts, no consonant + **cy** words occur. These are, moreover, few in number, and the list for the later texts is small, though none the less decisive.

Açadon (see Du Cange, *Glossarium*, s.v. **asciatum**). *Vision*, p. 57, l. 38.

arçobispo. *C. & E.*, p. 446, l. 12; 448, 17; 452, 7. *Caza*, *arçobispado*, p. 68, l. 16.

braço (**bracchium**). *Cid*, *braço* 17 (vv. 203, 255, 275, 488, etc.); *braça* (fathom), vv. 2420, 3683; *abraçar*, etc. 10 (vv. 368, 920, 1518, 1599, etc.); *enbraçan*, vv. 715, 2284; *enbraço*, v. 2393. *Vision*, *abraçando*, p. 58, l. 9; 59, ll. 31, 37. *Disputa*, *braçada*, stz. VII, v. 7. *Stb.*, *braço*, p. 3, l. 15; 13, 20; 25, 27: *abraçados*, p. 20, l. 12. *Caza*, *braço*, p. 73, l. 3. *A. J. & B.*, *braços*, p. 340, l. 42; *abraçar* 8 (p. 343, l. 2; 373, 34; 377, 1; etc.); but p. 345,

[1] Cf. *Ztschr. f. rom. Phil.*, IX, 148.

[2] See p. 39.

l. 3 *abrazo*, a mistake indicative of the unvoicing of *z*.[1] *Lab.*, *braços*, no. 5, v. 23; 6, 26; 7, ll. 11, 43; 28, ll. 2, 28; 44, 39; 52, 34; 69, 13: *abraços*, no. 6, v. 27; 29, 45: *abraçays*, no. 71, v. 10: *abraçado*, no. 52, v. 41.

calças (**calceam**). *Cid*, *calças*, vv. 190, 195, 992, 994, 3085; *calçado*, vv. 400, 1023, 2722. *Lab.*, *calçar*, no. 48, v. 38; *descalça*, no. 9, v. 20.

çierço (= ***cercium**). *C. & E.*, p. 500, l. 20; 504, ll. 13, 23. *Caza*, p. 51, l. 17. *Lab.*, no. 67, v. 3.

dulçura (= ***dulciuram**). *Caza*, p. 63, l. 4.

lança. *Cid* 30 (vv. 79, 353, 419, 444, 489, etc.). *Vision*, *lançar*, etc., p. 57, l. 36; 58, ll. 6, 13. *Stb.*, *lançar*, etc. 14 (p. 8, l. 5; 11, 26; 17, 12; etc.); *alançar*, etc. 10 (p. 2, l. 8; 6, 18; 7, 16; etc.). *Caza*, *lançar*, etc. 55 (p. 36, ll. 25, 29; 37, 23; etc.); *lançe* (noun) 6 (p. 42, l. 5; etc.); *lançarote*, p. 42, l. 10. *A. J. & B.*, *lançeros* p. 361, l. 20. *Lab.*, *lanças*, no. 46, v. 55; 55, 15.

neçedat (cf. **nescius**). *Caza*, p. 81, l. 3. For **-scy-**, as for **-sty-**, there seems to have been a double result, the palatal *x* (= *š*) and the dental *ç* (= *ts*). But in the example of the palatal result, Old Spanish *faxa* (see *Grundriss*, I, 705), modern *faja* (= **fasciam**), the retention of Latin **f** suggests another than a purely Castilian development.

onças (= λύγξ, **lynx**, **lynceam**, the *l* being misconceived as the article). *C. & E.*, p. 495, l. 31.

rromançe. *C. & E.*, p. 448, ll. 6, 9, 18. *Caza rromanço* (= ***romanciavit**), p. 1, l. 19.

pescueço (= **post** + ***cocceum**, see Körting, *Wörterb.*, no. 1972). *Caza*, p. 9, l. 8; 11, ll. 13, 27; 24, 22; 50, 28; 58, 15.

(*G*) Old Spanish *ç* from Latin intervocalic **cy**.

The problem of the treatment of intervocalic **cy** in Old Spanish is exceedingly difficult of solution. On the analogy of Old French, in which, it is now generally agreed, **cy** between vowels yielded only the result *ts* (graphically represented by medial *ç* and final *z*), and in view of the otherwise close resemblance between

[1] Or a mere mistake in copying MS.

the two languages in the earlier history of the sibilant sounds, one would expect to find in Old Spanish the result *ts* only, indicated by medial *ç* and final *z*. Instead, one seems to find both voiced (medial *z*) and voiceless (medial *ç*) products, as Horning admits when he holds that **cy** became *z* in Spanish only "*in den meisten Fällen.*"[1]

For **cy** followed by *e*, Horning conceives the same treatment in French and in Romance generally, as for **c** followed by *i*, *e*: "Cy + e wird wie in allen romanischen Sprachen (mit Ausnahme etwa des Rätoromanischen . . .) wie einfaches ci behandelt" (*Lat. C*, p. 8), and he is apparently justified in making the statement apply to Old Spanish.[2] Here the cases are naturally very few in number, being confined to certain fifth declension nouns[3] that appear to have survived as such, viz. **facies** and **acies**, and only the latter word gives us certain evidence. In the singular, both have *z*, — *Cid*, *faz*, v. 355: *Stb.*, *faz*, p. 5, l. 4; *sobrefaz*, p. 10, l. 12: *Caża*, *faz*, p. 9, l. 9; 11, 14; 12, 28; *Disputa*, *faz*, stz. II, v. 6: *Cid*, *az*, vv. 697, 707, 711, 722: *A. J. & B.*, *az*, p. 375, l. 12; but, as this *z* is final, it doubtless represents the voiceless *ts* sound, irrespective of its origin. In the plural *azes*, *Cid* 3 (vv. 699, 700, 2396), and the derivative *azero*,[4] *Lab.* 3 (no. 20, v. 38; 46, 28; 60, 20), the *z* appears as medial, and therefore is to be treated as voiced.[5] So **cy** + *e* seems to have produced the voiced *z* sound. But it is possible that we have to deal, not with **cy** + *e*, but rather with **c** + *e*, for in the combination **cy** + *e*, the semi-vowel *y*, coming before the vowel *e*, which belongs, like itself, to the *front* class, may have disappeared, as the result of a

---

[1] See above, p. 20.

[2] Note that j disappeared before e in ***jenuarium**–*enero*. Does this *e* instead of *je* in the unaccented syllable indicate that in Old Spanish the diphthong *ie* had the stress on the *e*?

[3] Was the source of *faziendo* **faciendum** or ***facendum**? Horning, *Lat. C*, p. 90, assumes that it was **faciendum**.

[4] See p. 59.

[5] The *Glossen* have no. 224 *faces*, which is only an etymological spelling. See below, p. 174, for the Hebrew-Spanish variation in the Ferrara Bible between *façes* and *fazes*. The Old Spanish translation of the *Iliad* (ed. Vollmöller, Hamburg, 1893, p. 248, l. 25, of the volume entitled *Studien zur Litteraturgeschichte Michael Bernays gewidmet*) has *haçes*, which may be only a learned form of **acies**.

process of complete assimilation, and therefore the development may be **acies**, ***aces**, *azes*.[1] This explanation is, however, hypothetical, and it remains doubtful whether one is justified in considering **cy** + *e* apart from **cy** + *a*, *o*, *u*, which develops into *z* in some words and *ç* in others.

Considering first the **cy** (*a*, *o*, *u*) words in which *ç* appears, we find that no light is thrown upon the subject by the *Altspanische Glossen*. These contain only the form *ibizone*, no. 174 (= **ibicionem**, a beast of burden; cf. Priebsch in *Ztschr. f. rom. Phil.*, XIX, 26), a word which seems to have been found nowhere else in Spanish, and in which the *z* is ambiguous, since it either denotes the voiced sound, or, what is more likely, replaces the as yet little used *ç*, as it does in *brazaret* no. 122, *forzaret* no. 70, *gerranza* no. 95, and *anzes* no. 161. The *Poème* has *coraçon* l. 1 and *pieça* l. 134; the *Débat* has *coraçon* l. 43, *cabeça* l. 16 and *copiença* (verb) l. 1. As to the etymology of *coraçon* various opinions have been held. Körting (*Wörterb.* s.v. **cŏr**) refers the word to a ***corationem**, for which he cites Diez 441; but Diez (*Wörterb.*, II, *b*, s.v. *corazon*) says: "Dem lat. *cor* entspricht nur das altsp. *cuer* (*ue* aus *ŏ*): vielleicht um jede verwechslung mit *cuero* = lat. *corium* zu beseitigen, führte man das derivatum *cor-az-on* ein, dem kein it. *coraccione* oder fr. *couraçon* zur seite geht." The mention of the Italian and French hypothetical forms shows that Diez has no **-ty-** etymon in mind, but is referring to **cor** + **-aceum** (= **coraço*, **coraz*, cf. *solaz* = **solacium**) and **-onem**.[2] His *z* is not the voiced medial *z*, but the representative of the final *ts* sound of ***coraceum**, for which *ç* was properly substituted, when the *ts* sound became medial through the addition of the further suffix **-onem**. A different etymon, ***curationem**, was proposed by Cornu (*Romania*, IX, 129), but this must be rejected both because of the difficulty of the sense development (see Baist in *Ztschr. f. rom. Phil.*, IV, 474) and of the impossibility of the phonetic development, since intervocalic **-ty-** can give only *z*, and this word, here and elsewhere, shows only *ç*. Meyer-Lübke maintains ***coraceonem** against ***curationem** (*Litbl. f. germ. u. rom. Phil.*, 1884, col.

---

[1] Cf. p. 48, note 2, and note the vulgar Latin *paretes* for *parietes*, etc.

[2] So Horning in *Lat. C*, p. 92.

279).[1] *Pieça* must go hand in hand with the French *pièce*, which Mussafia derives from **pecia.**[2] It must be acknowledged, however, that the certainty of **pecia** is contested by Meyer-Lübke[3] and Schwan,[4] who prefer Thurneysen's **pettia.**[5] *Cabeça* = **capicia.**[6] *Copiença* (with inserted *n* due to the influence of *començar*, or, possibly, transposed from before the *p*) is from the verb *conpeçar*, beside which there also occurs the form *enpeçar*. *Enpeçar*, which has survived as *empezar*, is probably the original form, *conpeçar* being analogical in structure to *congoja* = **angustiam.**[7] Now, between *enpeçar* and *pieça* we cannot fail to apprehend a relation, and Diez, though he did not give a ready welcome to the idea, saw the possibility of this relation,[8] which becomes all the more plausible if we permit ourselves to associate **pecia** with the stem pic-.[9] **Inpeciare,** 'to peck into,' 'take the (first) piece out of,' 'begin,' finds a close parallel in the French *entamer*. At all events, the derivation from **incipere** proposed by Parodi[10] can scarcely be entertained, since it meets with the two grave objections of a change of conjugation and the preservation of the *p*,[11] to say nothing of the metathesis.

The *Fragmento* affords us a single case, *corazo*[*n*], p. 61, l. 7, the

---

[1] A. Thomas (*Romania*, XXVIII, 177) also supports **coraceonem.** Explaining the French *chevasson* as **capus** + **-aceus** + **-onem,** he says: "Pour la forme, *chevasson* est à **capus** comme *paillasson* à **palea,** ou encore comme l'espagnol *corazon* à **cor.**"

[2] See above, p. 21. Paris has accepted **pecia** in his *Extraits de la Chanson de Roland.*

[3] *Ztschr. f. rom. Phil.*, XIV, 260: "Statt **pecia,** dem sich ital. *pezza* kaum fügt, würde ich, mit Thurneysen, **pettia** oder vielleicht *petvia* vorziehen, da mit *petvacium* span. *pedazo* erklärt würde."

[4] *Grammatik des Altfranzösischen*, 2d ed., p. 90, § 251, note 2. The fourth edition, § 193, note 2, does not decide between *pettia* and *pecia.*

[5] R. Thurneysen, *Keltoromanisches*, Halle, 1884, p. 70.

[6] See above, p. 20.

[7] So Parodi, *Romania*, XVII, 61. It is possible that the first syllable of *començar* influenced the development of *conpeçar* from *enpeçar.*

[8] See Diez, *Wörterb.*, 5th ed., p. 105.

[9] Whence come, supposedly, the Spanish and Italian words for 'little': *pequeño, piccolo, piccino:* see Körting, *Wörterb.*, s.v. *pic.*

[10] *Romania*, XVII, 61.

[11] So Meyer-Lübke, *Ztschr. f. rom. Phil.*, XII, 159.

z of which, like that of *lenzuelo*,[1] shows the scribe at a loss to represent the *ts* sound before *o* and *u*. The later instances of *ç* = **cy** intervocalic add a few words besides those mentioned.

amenaça. — *Lab.* no. 15, v. 29, *amenaça* (verb); no. 19, v. 10, *amenaçando.* Elsewhere, however, *z* and not *ç* appears. So *Vision*, *amenazas* 1 (p. 56, l. 44); *A. J. & B.*, *menazas* (noun) 4 (p. 335, l. 9; p. 339, l. 18; p. 356, l. 26; p. 362, l. 17); *menazada* 1 (p. 339, l. 25); *menazaua* 1 (p. 391, l. 11); *amenazando* 2 (p. 335, l. 15; p. 366, l. 9).[2] We may, therefore, be justified in assuming double forms, for, granting the lateness of date of the *Laberinto*, we must remember that it is conservative otherwise as to the correct Old Spanish spellings.

carriçal. *Caza*, p. 88, l. 12. The only other instance has *z*, *Caza*, p. 84, l. 12 *carrizales*, and it is to be observed that the variant spellings occur in the one text. The source must be **caricem**, ***caricialem.**

cabeça. *Cid*, *cabeça*, vv. 2, 377, 1078, 1732, 2299, 2405, 2728, 3338, 3655; *descabeçemos*, v. 620. *Vision*, *cabeça*, p. 53, l. 17. *Disputa*, *cabeçera*, stz. IV, v. 1. *C. & E.*, *cabeça*, p. 459, l. 9; 489, 15; 513, 6. *Stb.*, *cabeça*, p. 20, l. 11; 31, 11. *Caza*, *cabeça* 16 (p. 9, l. 5; 11, ll. 10, 26, 28; etc.); *cabesça*, p. 55, l. 11; 56, 11: for the excrescent *s*, cf. above, p. 41, *enderesçar*. *A. J. & B.*, *cabeça*, p. 340, l. 43; 349, 24; 362, 38; 383, 8; 384, 33; 387, 8; 389, 6; *cabesça*, p. 384, l. 8. *Lab.*, *cabeça*, no. 32, v. 16; 62, 59; 65, 46.

cadoços. *Caza*, p. 36, l. 24. The word seems to mean a 'deep place in flowing water' (Baist, *Caza*, p. 111) and accordingly points, as a semi-learned word, to **caducus**, ***cadŭcius.** But the formation is uncertain.

carniçero (***carniciarium**). *C. & E.*, p. 503, l. 9.

conpeçar, *enpeçar.* *Cid*, *conpeçar*, etc., vv. 705, 856, 1083, 1085, 1090, 1111, 1114, 1201, 1456, 1926, 2071, 2115, 2735, 3306; with v. 2585 *conpieçan* (see Menéndez Pidal's edition), cf. above, pp. 49, 50, the *copiença* of the *Débat*: *enpieça*, v. 3308, *enpeço*, v. 3542. *C. & E.*, *enpeço*, p. 463, l. 34. *Lab.*, *empieço*, no. 27, v. 56.

---

[1] See above, p. 35, note 4.

[2] *A. J. & B.*, p. 360, l. 18, *menacido*, is probably a mistake.

coraçon. *Cid* 59 (vv. 53, 276, 430, 715, 718, etc.). *Vision*, p. 57, l. 4. *C. & E.*, p. 447, l. 4; 464, 19; 474, 12; 476, 4. *Stb.*, p. 12, ll. 1, 26; 19, 1; 26, 7; 32, 4. *Caza*, p. 25, l. 17; 29, ll. 20, 26; 37, ll. 24, 25; 58, 27. *A. J. & B.* 61 (p. 333, l. 13; 335, 6; 338, 19; etc.). *Lab.* 31 (no. 1, v. 5; 3, 39; 5, 7; etc.).

cruçen (* cruciare). *Caza*, p. 13, l. 20; but *cruzen*, p. 12, l. 7. The latter form may be based upon the noun *cruz;* cf. Fr. *croiser*, which is also derived from the noun.

pedaço. *Vision*, *despedaçauan*, p. 58, l. 1. *Stb.*, *pedaço*, p. 2, l. 25; 3, 24; 16, 4; 20, 20; 32, 16. *Caza*, *pedaço*, p. 63, l. 6. *A. J. & B.*, *despedaçados*, p. 362, l. 12. *Lab.*, *pedaços*, no. 5, v. 22; 19, 1: but no. 40, v. 44 *despedaze*, a mistake like *anochezistes*, for which see above, p. 35, n. 4. As to the source, see Körting, *Wörterb.*, s.v. pittacium = πιττάκιον. The Spanish word requires * pitacium.[1]

peliça. *Cid*, *peliçones*, vv. 1065, 1989, 2256, 2720, 3075; *sobrepeliças*, v. 1582. From pellem (or *pilum*?) + -iciam + -onem; cf. *coraçon* = cor + -aceum + -onem.

pieça. *C. & E.*, p. 463, l. 5; 465, 17. *Caza*, p. 32, l. 4; 36, 28; 77, 25; 88, 26; 89, ll. 11, 19.

picaça. *C. & E.*, *pigaça*, p. 502, l. 21. *Caza*, *picaça*, p. 28, ll. 7, 8, 15, 27. From pīca, * pīcca[2] + the suffix -aceus, -a, -um, which here has the force of *similarity*, so that the first meaning must have been, 'a creature of the magpie genus.'[3]

Two other words not used in our texts have been found by Horning[4] and Cuervo,[5] namely, *cedaço* = setaceum and *coraça* = coriacea.[6]

(*H*) Old Spanish *z* from Latin cy (*a*, *o*, *u*).

Turning now to the intervocalic cy (*a*, *o*, *u*) words in which *z* occurs, we find a moderately long list, but no certain cases of earlier date than the 14th century.[7]

---

[1] Meyer-Lübke, *Ztschr. f. rom. Phil.*, XIV, 260, prefers petvacium.

[2] See Körting, *Wörterb.*, s.v. pīc, pīcc.

[3] See analogous formations in Meyer-Lübke, *Gramm.*, II, § 414.

[4] *Lateinisches C*, p. 93. [5] *Revue hispanique*, II, 22.

[6] See also *haça* in the note under *faza* in the following list (*H*).

[7] As to the *ibizone* of the *Glossen* and the *corazon* of the *Fragmento*, see above, pp. 49, 50.

Amenaza. *Vision, amenazas*, p. 56, l. 44. *A. J. & B.*, *menazas*, p. 335, l. 9; 339, 18; 356, 26; *menazaua*, p. 391, l. 11: *menazada* p. 339, l. 25: *amenazando*, p. 335, l. 15; 366, 9. The source appears to be * **minaciam** from **minacem.**

anzuelo. *A. J. & B.*, p. 379, l. 5. From **hamum** + **ĭcium** + **ŏlum.** As the basis of the Fr. *hameçon*, Horning (*Ztschr. f. rom. Phil.*, XVI, 527) proposes * **hamica** + **-ionem.** Paris (*Romania*, XXII, 319) prefers to start from a form * **hamĭcium.**

apartadizos. *C. & E.* 1 (p. 483, l. 9). Suffix **-īcius.**

apostizo. *C. & E.* 3 (p. 494, l. 27; 495, ll. 5, 10). Suffix **-īcius.**

atrauesadizas. *Caza* 3 (p. 42, l. 28; 44, 28; 45, 9). Suffix **-īcius.**

azero (= * **aciarium**). *Lab.* 3 (no. 20, v. 38; 46, 28; 60, 20).

carrizales. *Caza* 1 (p. 84, l. 12); but see above, *carriçal* (p. 51). Apparently the usual form was that with *z*, for *Lebrija*,[1] in his Dictionary, gives "*Carrizo*, especie de caña. **Carex, -icis.** *Carrizal*, lugar de carrizos. **Carectus.**"

ceniza. *Lab.* 2 (no. 3, v. 8; 43, 43). From * **cinīcius**; see *Archiv f. lat. Lexikographie*, VI, 382.

corredizas. *Cid* 1 (v. 2736). Suffix **-īcius.**

cortezas. *C. & E.* 2 (p. 502, l. 20; p. 503, l. 17). This word, meaning a sort of wild fowl, is identical in form with the word for 'bark,' which comes from **corticem, cortĭceam.**

espeluznadas. *Caza* 1 (p. 59, l. 29); *espeluznan, ibid.*, 1 (p. 61, l. 17). The verb seems to derive from **pilus**, * **pilūceum**, but its *n*, which appears also in the modern form *espeluznar*, needs explanation. The voiced *z* seems assured, for Lebrija gives *espeluzarse, espeluzado, espeluzos* without the *n*. Were it not for these latter instances one might assume a formation * **pĭluceonem** (cf. * **coraceonem**)– * **expiluceonare** = *espeluz(o)nar, espeluznar*, with *z* standing for *ç* at the end of one syllable and before the initial consonant of the next.

faza. *Cid* 1 (v. 3060). *A. J. & B.*, *porfazadia* 1 (p. 336, l. 28). The *Cid faza*[2] is an adverb, 'up to,' 'towards,' apparently the

---

[1] Antonio de Lebrija published his Dictionary in 1492.

[2] *Lab.*, no. 20, v. 39 has *hazia*, which is either a scribe's mistake due to a confusion with the impf. sing. of *hazer*, or a learned form. The same text, no. 62,

same word as the modern *hacia*, and, like it, pointing to **faciam.**[1] The *A. J. & B.*, *porfazadia* means 'effrontery' and seems, therefore, based on **faciam.**

fihuzas. *C. & E.*, *fihuzas* 1 (p. 499, l. 25). *A. J. & B.*, *fiuza* 1 p. 335, l. 31); *fiuzia* 5,[2] *desfuzio* 1 (verb, p. 374, l. 6; probably a mistake for *desfiuzo*). From **fiduciam.** The *fiuzia* of *A. J. & B.* has a learned air, and possibly furnishes a clue as to the origin of the word.

Gallizia. *Cid*, *Gallizia* 1 (v. 2579); *galiziano* 3. *Caza*, *Gallizia* 1 (p. 46, l. 7); but also *Galliçia* 1 (p. 3, l. 30). The word must be learned, as the second *i* indicates.

hechizeras. *Lab.* 1 (no. 9, v. 46). From ***facticiarius**, and therefore an instance of the suffix **-īcius.**

hilaza. *Lab.* 1 (no. 49, v. 10). From **filum** + suffix **-aceus, -a, -um.**

hogazas. *Lab.* 1 (no. 62, v. 43). From **focum** + suffix **-aceus, -a, -um.**

juizio, *juyzio.* *Cid*, *iuuizio*, *iuizio* 4 (vv. 3226, 3239, 3259, 3485). *Vision*, *juyzio* 5 (p. 52, l. 36; 53, ll. 10, 12; 56, 27; 59, 46). *C. & E.*, *ibid.* 9 (p. 511, l. 24; 518, ll. 14, 18, 21, 24, 32; 519, ll. 11, 12). *Caza*, *ibid.* 1 (p. 2, l. 9). *A. J. & B.*, *ibid.* 9 (p. 336, l. 3; 345, 10; 372, ll. 11, 18, 45; 373, 5; 387, 41; 388, 28; 393, 27). *Lab.* 1 (no. 49, v. 45). The *i* retained after the *z* shows the origin to be at least semi-learned.

lazo. *A. J. & B.*, *lazo* 6 (p. 349, l. 34; 367, 36; 378, 41; 380, 6; 394, l. 23); *enlazan* 1 (p. 350, l. 2); *enlazado* 2 (p. 333, l. 31; 367, 6). *Lab.*, *lazos* 1 (no. 32, v. 26); *enlaza* 1 (no. 49, v. 20). From ***laceum** for **laqueum**; cf. Meyer-Lübke, *Gramm.*, I, § 501.

lechuza. *C. & E.* 1 (p. 503, l. 5). *Caza* 1 (p. 86, l. 21). On account of the identity in form of this word meaning 'owl,' and *lechuzo*, *-a* = 'suckling,' we should feel tempted to refer the former to the same source as the latter, viz. ***lactūceus.**

---

v. 67, has *haça*, which is apparently the modern *haza* = 'a tract of country,' 'cultivated field.' The source of this word is not clear. Diez referred it to **fasciam**, which should rightly give Old Spanish *ç*. Körting (*Wörterb.*, no. 3153) thinks that it is rather to be derived from ***faciam.** If Körting's conjecture is correct, the word is to be added to the list of intervocalic **cy** words giving *ç* in Old Spanish.

[1] See Körting, *Wörterb.*, s.v. **faciam.**

[2] P. 338, l. 37; 339, 9; 350, 37; 362, 8; 395, 35.

luzes (pl.). *C. & E.* 1 (p. 506, l. 13). From lucium 'a pike.' This plural form, like *solazes*, is a new non-inherited one.

pañezuelos. *A. J. & B.* 1 (p. 351, l. 3). The context gives this noun the meaning of 'garment,' 'cloth,' so that it must represent pannum + -ĭcium + -ŏlum.

mosquetazo. *Lab.* 1 (p. 46, l. 9). The suffix -aceus, -a, -um, denoting 'a blow of,' 'shot of,' etc.

rrenegadizo. *A. J. & B.* 1 (p. 373, l. 9). Suffix -īcium.

solaz. *Cid* 2 (vv. 228, 2872). *Vision, solazes* (pl.) 1 (p. 58, l. 31). *A. J. & B., solaz* 2 (p. 360, l. 1; 383, 32). See p. 16 and below (p. 58).

[*t*]*enazas.* *A. J. & B.* 1 (p. 370, l. 9). From tenacem, * tenaciam.

According to their apparent sources these words with *z* may be arranged in four groups.

(1) Those having *iz* indicating a Latin suffix or desinence, -īcium, -īciam; viz. *apartadizo, apostizo, atrauesadizas, carrizales,*[1] *corredizas, ceniza, hechizeras, rrenegadizo, Gallizia, juyzio.* The *i* after the *z* in *Gallizia, juyzio* shows them to be at least half-learned, and moreover the form *Galliçia* has been found by the side of *Gallizia.*

(2) Those having *ez* indicating a Latin suffix -ĭcium, -ĭciam, viz. *anzuelo* (for * *amezuelo* = * hamiciolum), *cortezas, pañezuelos.*

As in both these groups we have a suffix, real or apparent, we may easily be tempted to set up the theory of a suffix interchange and say that for -ĭcium, -īcium there were substituted the suffixes -ĭtium, * -ĭtium, which rightly developed into *-ezo, -izo* in Old Spanish. This is what Mussafia (*Romania*, XVIII, 531, see especially p. 535) has done apropos of the Old French *juïse*, but Paris does not follow him in that particular,[2] and the argument that -ĭcium and -ĭtium had a very similar logical value has been denied by Horning (*Litbl. f. germ. u. rom. Phil.*, XI, 106; *Ztschr. f. rom. Phil.*, XVIII, 235) and by G. Cohn (*Die Suffixwandlungen im Vulgärlatein*, etc., Halle, 1891, pp. 35 ff.). According to Meyer-Lübke (*Gramm.*, II, §§ 415, 416,

---

[1] Meyer-Lübke, *Gramm.*, II, § 416: "*Carrizo*, portg. *carriço*, steht für * *carrezo* (cariceus)."

[2] Paris thinks that *juïse* is learned; *juyzio* is more obviously so, with *i* retained after the *z*.

417, 480), īcius and ĭcius, the latter being the more common in classic Latin,[1] were used to form adjectives from the stem of the past participle or new substantives upon the basis of other substantives, while the ty suffix, **-itia**, formed adjectival abstracts.

Now, though it may be misleading to argue from the facts presented within the limited scope of our texts, it is to be observed that, with the exception of the semi-learned *juyzio* and *Gallizia* and the somewhat obscure *corredizo*, the words of the two groups appear first in the 15th century. May it not then be conjectured that *-izo*, *-iza*, *-ezo*, *-eza* show a later and learned development of the suffixes which appear with the truly popular form in the *sobrepeliça*, *peliçon* of the *Cid* (14th century) and the *cabeça* of the *Débat* (13th century)?

(3) Those having *-az*, indicating a Latin suffix or apparent suffix, **-aceum, -aceam, -acium, -aciam**: viz., — *amenaza*, *faza*, *hilaza*, *hogaza*, *mosquetazo*, *tenaza*, *lazo*, *solaz*. The *-azo*, *-aza* forms of the real suffix (*hilaza*, *hogaza*, *mosquetazo*) occur only in our latest text, the *Laberinto*, while the *-aço*, *-aça* cases (*coraçon*, *pedaço*, *pigaça*, *picaça*) are all earlier, *coraçon* being found in the *Débat* (13th century), and probably exhibit the regular popular treatment of **-acium, -aciam.** An explanation of the *z* of these seemingly later forms, as well as of *amenaza*, *faza*, and *tenaza*, in which *-aza* is properly not a suffix, is furnished by a process that derives them directly from the simple forms instead of derivatives in **-acium, -aciam.** Horning (*Lat. C*, p. 25 f.) has treated of corresponding French cases: "Die Wörter auf *aise*. Es sollen die Wörter auf *aise* besprochen werden, soweit ihre Herkunft sicher ist und sie auf *-acia* resp. *-acem* zurückgehen. Gerade diese bieten der Erklärung die grössten Schwierigkeiten. In Betracht kommen besonders *irais*, *punais*, *punaise*, *niais*, *niaise* und die Substantiva *fournaise* Brandan 908 und *privaise* (Latrine). . . . Ich gehe davon aus, dass *fournaise* nicht von *fornax* kommen kann, wie Scheler und Brachet wollen, da *fornacem* frz. *fornais* geworden

---

[1] In Vulgar Latin, **-īcium, -īciam** was certainly the more common suffix. Cf. Cohn, l.c., p. 30: "Die seltenen Suffixe **-ĭcium** und **-ĭciam** sind in Wahrheit mit den geläufigen **-īcium** und **-īciam** vertauscht worden, welche ebenso wie jene von hause aus zur Bildung von Adjectiven gedient hatten." See also Horning, *Die Suffixe* **īcius, ĭcius,** in *Ztschr. f. rom. Phil.*, IX, 142 f.

wäre. . . . Man denkt nun zunächst an *furnacea*, fem. des Adject. *furnaceus*, das das lateinische Lexicon an die Hand giebt. *Furnacea* hätte jedoch lautgesetzlich zu *fournace* werden müssen, wie *minacia* zu *menace*. . . . Den lautlichen Anforderungen würde ein Adjectiv *furnatius* genügen, das *fournais* gegeben hätte, wie *palatium palais*, mit tonlosen *s*; im feminin *fournaise* wäre, wie immer im frz., dieses *s* im Inlaut tönend geworden. . . . Allein nichts berechtigt ein **furnatius* anzusetzen und *furnacius* hätte, wie soeben gezeigt wurde, ein masc. *fornaz* mit einem fem. *fornace* gegeben. . . . Vom Standpunkt der Lautlehre empfiehlt sich am meisten die Annahme, dass *punais*, *irais* auf Adjective auf *ax*, *acis* zurückgehen. *Acem* gab *ais*, wozu man schon früh ein femin. *-aise* nach der 2. Declination gebildet hätte. Freilich muss es dann auf gallischem Boden ein Adjectivum *furnacem* neben dem gleichlautenden Substantiv gegeben haben. . . . So viel steht nach dem Gesagten fest, dass man *fournaise* nicht ohne Weiteres auf lat. *furnacea* zurückführen darf." Suchier (*Grundriss*, I, 625) derives *fournaise* from *fornacem* + *a*; cf. G. Cohn *Suffixwandlungen*, pp. 292 f.[1] This word occurs in Old Spanish as the feminine *hornaza*, and, with a differentiation of meaning, as the masculine *hornazo*, both of which are given by Lebrija in his Dictionary (1492), and are doubtless entitled to the same explanation as that given for the French word. The ending *-azo*, *-aza*, thus created out of **-acem** (= *az*) + *o*, *a*, seems to have taken to itself the functions of the suffix *-aço*, *-aça* = **-aceum**, **-acium**, **-aceam**, **-aciam**, such as the expression of the idea of similarity, augmentation and 'effect' or 'blow of' (cf. Meyer-Lübke, *Gramm.*, I, § 414), whence its use in *hilaza*, *hogaza*, *mosquetazo*, and the like. The simplex in *-az* = **-acem** has actually survived in Spanish in *tenaz*, and therefrom *tenaza* may have been formed as *hornaza* was from * *hornaz*. *Tenaza* may even have led the way, but, as it is to be suspected that the simple forms in **-ax**, **-acem** were commoner upon Romance soil than has usually been supposed, it is really a matter of indifference whether one starts with **hornaz-a* or *tenaz-a* (cf. Meyer-Lübke, *Gramm.*, I, § 413). *Amenaza*,

---

[1] On similar formations, cf. E. Weber, *Ueber den Gebrauch von devoir, laissier*, etc. (Berlin, 1879), p. 30 (*Von einigen Unregelmässigkeiten in der französischen Wortbildung*).

or the simpler *menaza*, is, in the same way, to be referred to **minacem** = *menaz* + *a*.[1] *Faza* is intelligible as a formation from *faz*, whose *z*, if the theory set up with regard to the treatment of **cy** + **e** in **faciem, aciem** (p. 48), be tenable, properly denotes the voiced sound in the intervocalic position. The most difficult cases to explain are *solaz* and *lazo*, for the latter of which, in particular, it seems out of the question to suppose the influence of an **-ax, -acem** simplex, or the attraction of an *-azo* class of words. *Solaz* would rightly have a final *z* for *ç* from **cy**, but *ç* and not *z* should appear in the plural noun and in the derivative verb, which latter Lebrija gives, however, as *solazar*. The noun, not having the final *o*, which **solacium** would require if developed regularly upon Castilian territory, may be a loan-word (cf. *Romania*, I, 456).

(4) Those having *-uz*, indicating a Latin **-ūceum, -ūceam, -ūcium, -ūciam**, viz. *espeluznadas*, *fihuza fiuzia*, *lechuza*, *luzes*. The absence of the final *o*, expected in a descendant of **lucium**, indicates for *luz*, as for *solaz*, another than a purely Castilian origin. *Fiuzia* by the side of *fiuza fihuza* implies a learned treatment of **fiduciam**.[2] Meyer-Lübke (*Gramm.*, I, § 513) ascribes the *z* of both *fiuza* and *lechuza* to the influence of *-eza*, but this is an unsatisfactory explanation, especially for *lechuza*, upon which an abstract suffix *-eza* could not easily have exercised any power of attraction. In *lechuza* and *espeluznadas* there seems to occur a true suffix **-uceum, -uceam**, whose popular existence in Spain is called in question by Meyer-Lübke, *Gramm.*, II, § 418: "Ob auch im Span. das Suffix gebräuchlich sei, ist fraglich: *capuz*, *caperuza*, *gentuza*, wonach *canalluza* Gesindel, *testuz* stammen wohl alle aus Italien," etc.[3] *Lechuza* and *espeluz-*

---

[1] Meyer-Lübke, *Litbl. f. germ. u. rom. Phil.*, V, 279, says that *espinazo* = *espinaz* + *o*.

[2] **Fiduciam** is hardly an instance of the suffix **-uciam**. Pedro de Mugica, *Gramática del castellano antiguo* (Berlin, 1891), p. 69, § 219, goes to the length of deriving *fiuza* directly from a ***fidutja**. It is rather rash to assume such an etymon, the probability of which depends upon the existence of a suffix-interchange not at all certain. Mugica also sets up ***ad-minatja** for *amenaza*.

[3] The suffixes *-acho*, *-ocho*, *-ucho*, which Meyer-Lübke, *Gramm.*, II, § 420, apparently treats as developments of **-aceum**, etc., come rather from **-asculum**, etc. (see Baist, *Grundriss*, I, p. 705).

nadas are hardly to be classed with these presumably late borrowings, but they still lack a satisfactory explanation.[1]

Azero, which still remains to be considered, has its *z* most readily explained if it be regarded as a composition of *az* and *-ero*, instead of a phonological development of ***aciarium**; but the assumption of such a composition is, perhaps, rather arbitrary.

(*I*) Old Spanish *ç* from the Arabic sibilants *sīn* and *ṣād*.

The development of Old Spanish *ç* from Arabic *sīn* and *ṣād* is in line with the usage of the *aljamiado* texts, in which Old Spanish *ç* is regularly transcribed by these characters, especially by *sīn*.

açequia, 'drain' (with *sīn* in Arabic). *Caza* 13.[2]

açotes (with *sīn*). *Vision*, *açotes* 2, *açotar* 1.[3] *Stb.*, *açotes* 1.[4] *A. J. & B.*, *açotados* 1.[5] *Lab.*, *açotaua* 1, *açotando* 1.[6]

açucar (with *sīn*; cf. Dozy and Engelmann, *Glossaire*, etc., p. 228). *Caza* 1 (p. 63, l. 2). *Lab.*, 1 (no. 36, v. 59).

açuzena, 'white lily' (with *sīn*). *Lab.* 1 (no. 31, v. 5). *Açuçena* would be the form exactly corresponding to the Arabic, so that the *z* is due either to a mistake or to dissimilation.

alcaçar (with *ṣād*). *Cid*, *alcaçar* 9.[7] *Vision*, *alcaceres* 1.[8] *Caza*, *Alcaçar* (place-name) 5.[9]

alcançar (with *ṣād*). *Cid*, *alcançar*, etc., 11.[10] *Vision*, *alcasançe* (p. 60, l. 5, probably a mistake for *alcançasen*). *C. & E.*, *alcançar*, etc., 10.[11] *Caza*, *alcançar*, etc., 9.[12] *A. J. & B.*, *alcan-*

---

[1] The Old Spanish translation of the *Iliad* (ed. Vollmöller, Hamburg, 1893, p. 246, l. 20) has *escaramuças*. Is this an example of **-ūceus**, **-ūcea**, with **-cy-** becoming *ç*?

[2] P. 45, l. 12; 70, ll. 9, 20, 27; 71, ll. 5, 8, 10, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18.

[3] P. 54, l. 38; 58, 12; 55, 32.

[4] P. 12, l. 25. [5] P. 374, l. 10.

[6] No. 20, v. 28; 37, 10.

[7] Vv. 1220, 1571, 1610, 1644, 1652, 2002, 2007, 2183, 2248.

[8] P. 51, l. 22. [9] P. 69, ll. 5, 11, 13, 14; 82, 8.

[10] Vv. 390, 472, 758, 971, 998, 1253, 2399, 2419, 2420, 2533, 3724.

[11] P. 468, l. 23; 470, 14; 471, ll. 2, 3, 12; 473, 1; 478, 12; 479, 24; 500, 16; 504, 5.

[12] P. 2, l. 8; 25, 10; 28, 22; 29, 7; 33, 8; 37, ll. 18, 19, 20; 40, 13.

çar 1.[1] *Lab.*, *alcançar*, etc., 5.[2] The origin of this word has been the subject of some doubt. Diez (*Wörterb.* II) inclines to the Arabic source: "*al-qanaç*, verb *qanaça* = erjagen; wörter so allgemeiner bedeutung wurden nicht leicht aus dem arab. entnommen, da die eigene sprache ausreichte; man wäre darum berechtigt, in *alcanzar* ein abgeändertes *encalzar* (s. *incalciare* I) anzunehmen, aber das arab. wort ist ein jagdausdruck und dergleichen hat diese sprache der span. mehrere geliehen." But Engelmann excluded the word from his glossary of Arabic etyma, and Dozy (*Glossaire*, etc., p. 83, note) approved of the course taken: "Je crois que M.E. a eu raison de ne pas admettre le mot *alcance* (pourchas, poursuite, chasse, etc.), qui, selon M. Diez viendrait de . . . [*al-qanaç*]. La signification conviendrait assez bien, mais comme dans l'*Alexandre* ce mot est *encalzo*, en prov. *encaus*, dans la *Chanson de Roland encalz*, *enchalz*, et que le verbe est dans l'*Alexandre* à la fois *alcanzar* et *encalzar*, en prov. *encaussar*, dans la *Chanson de Roland encalcer*, *enchalcer*, il est certain que la syllabe *al* est une altération de la syllabe *en* et que le mot vient du latin *calx*." The arguments of Dozy seem hardly to disprove the Arabic etymology for the Spanish word. The other Romance forms mentioned by him certainly point to *incalceare, and the *Alexandre encalzo*, *encalzar* probably do so, but as the usual Old Spanish word is so unlike the regular descendants of *incalceare, the more natural assumption would seem to be that it goes back to the Arabic word, with which it has close resemblance in form and meaning, and that it received an extension of meaning through the influence of *incalceare.[3] The senses of the word in the texts here investigated are: *Cid*, *alcançar*, vv. 390, 472, 758, 971, 1253, 2419, 2420 = 'to overtake'; v. 3724 = 'to attain,' 'gain' (*alcança ondra*); *alcança*, *alcanço*, *alcanz* (nouns), vv. 998, 2399, 2533, 772, 776, 786, 1147, 1679, 1728, 2404, 2408 = 'pursuit': *C. & E.*, *alcançar*, p. 468, l. 23; 470, 14; 471, ll. 2, 3, 12; 473, 1; 478,

[1] P. 338, l. 14.

[2] No. 20, v. 21; 26, 8; 36, 37; 54, 9; 61, 11.

[3] Baist, *Grundriss*, I, 707, assumes the reverse process: "*alcanzar* (unter Einfluss von arab. *alqanaz* aus) altspan. *encalzar* *incalciare."

12; 479, 24 = 'to attain,' i.e. 'comprehend'; 500, 16 and 504, 5 = 'to reach': *Caza, alcançar*, pp. 25, 10; 28, 22; 29, 7; 33, 8; 37, ll. 18, 19, 20; 40, 13 = 'to overtake'; 2, 8 = 'to attain,' i.e. 'comprehend': *A. J. & B.*, p. 338, 14, *alcançar* (*a la vida auinidera*) = 'to attain to': *Lab.*, *alcançar*, no. 20, v. 21; 26, 8; 36, 37; 54, 9; 61, 11 = 'to obtain.' Körting (*Wörterb.*) refers *alcançar* to the Arabic word, and *encalzar* to * **incalceare**, but Morel-Fatio (*Romania*, IV, 37) acknowledges only the Latin source in his remarks on the *Alexandre*: "*alcanço* 616, cast. mod. *alcance*: forme parallèle de *encalço*, qui a donné au mot une apparence arabe." J. Tailhan (*Romania*, IX, 294) has investigated legal documents for the history of the word and has found a third form, *acalzar*: "*acalzar, alcanzar*: Ce verbe fait son apparition au commencement du XIIe siècle. Il se montre sous sa première forme en Aragon; sous la seconde en Castille; sous les deux en Navarre et dans les provinces basques." Thus it appears that *alcançar*[1] is the true Castilian form, that *acalzar*, which, in the chief cases cited, has a meaning not possessed by *alcançar* — that of 'journeying around and about,' 'encompassing'[2] = * **adcalceare** — is confined to the parts of Spain nearest to France and Provence, and that the two words first came together upon Navarrese territory. There seems, then, to be no bar to our assuming that *alcançar* existed independently of the Latin word, and that it rests upon the Arabic *al-qanaç*.

çaga (with *sīn*). *Misterio*, *acaga* 1 (p. 2, l. 20 = *açaga*; the cedilla not being used in the *Misterio*).[3] *Cid*, *çaga* 5 (vv. 449, 452, 455, 483, 2359).

Çid (with *sīn*). Frequent in the *Cid* (vv. 6, 7, 13, 15, etc.). Dozy

---

[1] The *s* of Tailhan's documents represents *ç*, which would not be written in Latin or pseudo-Latin.

[2] See the cases mentioned in *Romania*, IX, 295, from the *Fueros* of Casseda, Saint-Saturnin, Salina, and Sanguesa. In *Ztschr. f. rom. Phil.*, IV, 479, Baist gives another possible case of *acalzar* in the *Llorente*, IV, 124.

[3] Cuervo, *Revue hispanique*, II, 28, regretting the lack of an instance of *c* (= *ts*) before *a*, in the *Misterio*, overlooks this case. Joret, *Du C dans les langues romanes* (Paris, 1874), p. 139, had previously done the same thing.

[illegible] *supplement*) has [illegible]

[illegible] *guadamaqui*; v. 88, *gua-* [illegible] s.v. *guadamaci*.

[illegible] under especial [illegible]

[illegible] a syllable before the [illegible] Spanish *z* represents [illegible] which it was the [illegible] only when a vowel fol- [illegible] The value of this graphic *z* [illegible]

[illegible] from *almaçar*. Cf. above, p. 60, [illegible] *Cuza*, p. 110) refers to [illegible] and Engelmann and Dozy give "*Alma-* [illegible] (*al-maçtaca* [with *ṣād*]), [illegible] du mastic."[3]

[illegible] would regularly be written before the *t* of the [illegible] remains here even after the disappearance of the *t*, [illegible] expect *ç*.

[illegible] A singular *arriaz* would answer prop- [illegible] but we should not expect *z* intervocally [illegible] The plural form must be deemed analogical to the [illegible] and only graphically so.

[illegible] Engelmann and Dozy, s.v. "*abarraz* . . . [illegible]

1 Cuervo (*Revue hispanique*, II, 18) overlooks this explanation when he says of the use of *z* in these instances: "Aquí debe haber obrado la tendencia á pronunciar como vocálica la silbante al fin de sílaba como al fin de palabra, tal que la *ç* se convertía en *z* en esta posición." The *z* does not indicate the voiced sound here; it is an unsatisfactory but the best available single sign to indicate the *ts* sound in situations in which *ç* could not appear.

2 *Alcanz*, vv. 772, 776, 786, 1147, 1679, 1728; *alcaz*, vv. 2403, 2408.

3 See also *Rom. Forschungen*, IV, 392.

4 P. 56, ll. 3, 6, 23; 63, 18. The form *habarras* occurs [illegible] for *s* instead of *z*, see above, p. 11.

(. . . herbe aux poux) de . . . (*habb ar-ras* [rather with *ç* = Arabic *sīn*]) qui signifie 'delphinum stephisagria.' . . . On trouve aussi les formes *habarraz* et *fabarraz*, qui se rapprochent plus du mot arabe." Cf. *Rom. Forschungen*, IV, 365.

jazmin. *Lab.* 4.[1] From the Persian-Arabic *yaçmin* (with *sīn*).

mezquino. *Fragmento*, *mezquino* 1 (p. 61, l. 10), but also *mesquinu* 1 (p. 62, l. 1). *Disputa*, *mezquina* 1 (stz. V, v. 8). The *z* is regular, coming from *meçkin* (with *sīn*), but the other texts, unlike modern Spanish, show the *s* of the secondary form of the *Fragmento;* e.g. *Débat*, *mesquino* 1 (l. 8); *Cid*, *mesquino* 1 (v. 849); *Vision*, *mesquino* 9, *mesquindades* 1.[2] *A. J. & B.*, *mesquino* 4, *mesquinamente* 3, *mesquindat* 13.[3] See Baist in *Rom. Forschungen*, IV, 416.

mezquitas. *Cid*, v. 2499. From *meçĝid* (with *sīn*). For the alteration of *ĝ* to *k*, see *Rom. Forschungen*, IV, 400.

mozlemos. *Altspanische Glossen*, no. 48. From *moçlem* (with *sīn*); see Dozy and Engelmann, s.v. *Moslemita*, and *Rom. Forschungen*, IV, 414.

rrafez. *Caza*, *rrehezes* 1 (p. 80, l. 2). *A. J. & B.*, *rrafez* 9, *rrafezmente* 4,[4] *rrefezes* 1 (p. 347, l. 42). The plurals, *rrehezes*, *rrefezes*, are probably, like *arriazes*, instances of mere script analogy. The source is *rakhīç* (with *ṣād*).

An apparent exception to the rule that Arabic *sīn* appeared when intervocalic as *ç* in Old Spanish is *aranzeles*, *Lab.* 1 (no. 49, v. 15), 'the laws fixing taxes, prices,' etc. Engelmann referred the word to *ar-riçela* (with *sīn*), but regarded this source as doubtful. Dozy (Dozy and Engelmann, p. 197) also doubted it, and proposed a new etymology, *marâçem* (with *sīn*). This, too, can hardly be deemed satisfactory, since Dozy himself quotes another case of the Spanish word with *z* (*alanzel*, in *Cortes de León y de Castilla*, III, 175, 349), so that *z* seems assured here and this makes an etymon with *sīn* or *ṣād* improbable.

---

[1] No. 9, v. 5; 16, 8; 31, 6; 68, 24.

[2] P. 51, ll. 11, 19, 31, 38; 52, 37; 53, 1; 55, 43; 56, 33; 60, 7; 58, 44.

[3] P. 336, l. 23; 362, 8; 380, 19, 37; 349, 7; 351, 31; 377, 14; 336, 5; 341, ll. 2, 8; 34[illegible] [illegible]1, 2; 359, 12; 370, 33; 382, 16; 384, 40; 390, 38; 391, ll. 5, 29; 391, [illegible]

[4] P. [illegible] 8; 367, 39; 372, 46; 374, 7; 375, 17; 376, 6; 377, 36; 354 [illegible] 391, 38.

Another decidedly troublesome word is *Cid*, v. 1502, *alcayaz;* v. 2669, *acayaz*. As Cornu has noted (*Romania*, X, 89) it is probably Arabic, yet it is not found in Dozy and Engelmann's *Glossaire*. It is given, however, by Eguilaz in his *Glosario*,[1] s.v. *Acaiaz:* "*Acaiaz, acayad, alcaiaz, alcayad, alcayat.* Lo mismo que *Alcaide.*" And s.v. *alcaide:* "*Alcaide* cast. y port., *alcait, alcay* val., *alcayt* cat. y mall. De . . . *alcáid* [with final *dhād*], *alcaide* en P. de Alcalá,[2] *ductor* en Raimundo Martín, Guadix y Urrea." Hence it would seem that as early as in the 14th century the Spanish *z* could be used to represent the spirant sound ð, a state of affairs that is extremely doubtful. *Alcayaz* is, perhaps, not the same word as *alcaide.*[3]

Equally troublesome is *Cid*, v. 14, *albriçia*, found also in *Lab.*, *albricias* (no. 34, v. 3) and in modern Spanish. Dozy and Engelmann say, s.v.: "*Albricias* (cadeau que l'on donne à celui qui apporte une bonne nouvelle) de . . . (*al-bichâra*) qui a précisément le même sens. En espagnol ce mot est un peu altéré: le portugais *alviçaras* et le valencien *albixeres* se rapprochent beaucoup plus du terme original." The assumed Arabic source thus has *šīn*, which in *aljamiado* texts is used to transcribe Old Spanish *x*[4] (i.e., is used for the value *š*), and could not be expected to pass into Spanish as *ç* (i.e., with the value *ts*). Baist inclines to think that *al-bisāra* is not the source of *albricias*. See *Rom. Forschungen*, IV, 408: "*Albricias* von *al-bišâra* wird durch *alvistra* (nicht *alvistral*) Alex. 1603, *avistra ibid.*, 2489, entspr. bask. *albiristea, albistea* widerlegt: es muss ein *-brist-* zu Grunde gelegt werden.[5] Dagegen kann catal. *albixera* das erbrachte arab. Wort sein."

---

[1] L. de Eguilaz y Yanguas: *Glosario etimológico de las palabras españolas de origen oriental*, Granada, 1886.

[2] See *Petri Hispani de Lingua Arabica libri duo*, ed. P. de Lagarde, Göttingen, 1883, p. 97.

[3] But this is not altogether certain. See *Rom. Forschungen*, IV, 360, where Baist states that *alfoz* appears in an 11th century document as *alhot*. Cf. Dozy and Engelmann, p. 19: "Le *dhâd* . . . final devient aussi *t* (*arriates*), *s* (*alefris*), ou *z*(*hamez*)."

[4] See p. 166. *Šīn* also represents *s* in *aljamiado* writings, but in loan-words it regularly yielded only Old Spanish *x*.

[5] But *st* could not directly give an Old Spanish *ç*. Arabic influence must be called into play; see pp. 73 ff.

Yuçef, in *Cid*, vv. 1621, 1725, 1850, is the name of a Moor, and doubtless represents **Josephus** under Arabic influence. Compare the appearance of *sīn* in the *Yuçuf*[1] of the *Poema de José*.

(*K*) Analogical *z* (= *ts*) of verbs in **-scere.**

In the first person singular of the present indicative and in all the persons, singular and plural, of the present subjunctive of verbs in **-scere,** *z* is substituted for the *s* of the combination *-sc-*. This *z* is due to the analogy of the other persons of the present indicative: **crescis** = *creçes*, **crescit** = *creçe*, **crescimus** = *creçemos*, **crescitis** = *creçedes*, *creçeis*, * **crescent** = *creçen*, while **cresco** = *cresco*, **crescam** = *cresca*, etc. Then by a modification of the existing sibilant in *sco*, *sca*, there resulted the forms *creç.co*, graphic *crezco*, *creç.ca*, graphic *crezca*, etc. As the *z* is merely graphic for *ç*, it naturally has here, in Old Spanish, the value *ts*.

Our earliest case is the *conozco* of the thirteenth century manuscript of the *Poème d'amour*.

acaezcan. *C. & E.* 1 (p. 510, l. 12; cf. p. 510, l. 7 *acaescan*). *A. J. & B.*, *acaezca* 1 (p. 339, l. 2).

amanezco. *Lab.* 1 (no. 29, l. 34).

conozco. *Poème d'Amour*, *conozco* 2, *connozco* 1. *Lab.*, *conozco* 3.

enloquezcan. *Lab.* 1 (no. 40, l. 25).

entristezco. *A. J. & B.*, *entristezcas* 1 (p. 350, l. 38). *Lab.*, *entristezco* 2; *entristezca* 1.

escarnezcan. *A. J. & B.* 1 (p. 379, l. 11).

fallezca. *A. J. & B.* 1 (p. 340, l. 16).

merezco. *Disputa* 1 (stz. XI, l. 7). *A. J. & B.*, *merezca* 1 (p. 345, l. 14); *merezcas* 1 (p. 359, l. 40); cf. p. 371, l. 30 *merescades*.

obedezco. *Lab.*, *obedezco* 1, *obedezca* 1.

ofrezca. *A. J. & B.*, *ofrezca* 1, *ofrezcamos* 1. *Lab.*, *ofrezco* 2.

padezco. *Stb.*, *padezcan* 1. *Lab.*, *padezco* 1.

parezco. *Lab.*, *parezco* 1, *parezca* 3, *parezcan* 1.

perezco. *A. J. & B.*, *perezco* 1 (p. 347, l. 19); cf. p. 374, l. 3 *peresca*.

-Zc-, though well established towards the end of the Old Spanish period, never displaced *-sc-* entirely. Some variant forms in

[1] See below, p. 165.

-sc- are noted above, and the *Cid* and *Caza* regularly write *-sc-*: e.g., *Cid*, *gradescamos* (v. 1298), *gradesco* (vv. 493, 1856, 1933, 1936, 2037, etc.), *parescan* (vv. 1428, 3076), *parescades* (v. 1873), *meresca* (vv. 2338, 2797), *contesca* (v. 3706); *Caza*, *paresca* (p. 10, l. 22), *conosca* (p. 20, l. 25). The uncertainty of usage thus betrayed continues down to a recent date; see Baist in *Rom. Forschungen*, IV, 416: "Für *sc* tritt in der Conjugation der Verba auf *-scere* in den Präsensformen durch Analogiewirkung *zc* gleichlaufend ein, ohne dass sich die Sprache bis heute unbedingt entschieden hätte."

Z appears before *c* in two verbs, which do not belong to the **-scere** class, but must have been influenced by it. The verbs are: *Cid*, v. 1691, *vezcamos*; *A. J. & B.*, p. 386, l. 11, *venzca*[1]; both subjunctive forms of *vençer* = **vincere**: *Cid*, v. 699 *mezclados*: *C. & E.*, p. 450, l. 10 *mezclador*: *Stb.*, p. 4, l. 15; 7, 15; 15, 5; 17, 12; 30, 14; 32, 16; 32, 24; 32, 26 *mezclado*; p. 4, l. 22 *entremezclada*: *A. J. & B.*, p. 338, l. 18 *mezcle*; p. 347, l. 5 *mezclo*; p. 355, l. 30 *mezclado*; p. 378, ll. 10 and 12 *mezclamiento*: *Lab.*, no. 18, v. 24 *mezclan*; no. 51, vv. 4, 12, 20, 36 *mezclada*: all from *mezclar* = * **misculare.** Other verbs in which, by analogy with the **-scere** verbs, *z* is inserted, are mentioned by Baist in Gröber's *Grundriss*, I, 711. But *venzca*, as found in the *A. J. & B.*, is peculiar in having a consonant instead of a vowel immediately before the *z*, while *vezca*, as found in the *Cid*, with a vowel before the *z*, seems to show a closer approximation to the other verbs. *Vezca* may, however, be erroneous for *venzca*, as the scribe may have forgotten to write the nasal dash over the *e*.[2] For *mezclar*, in which the *z* has nothing to do with an ending, we may also assume the attraction of such a common word as *mezquino*, in which *z* = *ts* likewise appears before the *k* sound. Similar to *mezquino*, *mesquino*, are the double forms *mezclar*, *mescolar* (see Carolina M. de Vasconcellos, *Studien zur romanischen Wortschöpfung*, Leipzig, 1876,

---

[1] The *Estoria de los quatro doctores de la santa eglesia* (Halle, 1897), published by Lauchert from the MS. which also contains the *A. J. & B.*, has the form *vezca*, p. 49, l. 24, and 100, 8.

[2] Cornu, *Romania*, X, 92, 93, and Baist, *Rom. Forschungen*, IV, 401, believe that in similar cases the *n* was actually dropped. But it seems quite as easy and justifiable to suppose that the nasal dash was carelessly omitted by the scribe.

p. 293). *Mescolar* was the original form, and, under the influence of double forms like *mezquino*[1]–*mesquino*, *mezclar* was made.

(*L*) Latin **t's** gave Old Spanish final *z* (= *ts*).

Ad sat(i)s has given Old Spanish final *z* in *asaz*, which is found in the *Disputa* once[2]; in *C. & E.* 8 times[3]; in the *Caza*, as *assaz* and *asaz*, 8 times[4]; in *A. J. & B.*, as *asaz*, once (354, 40), and as *asez* once (396, 22). From its very origin there can be no doubt that this final *z* had a voiceless sound with the *ts* value. It is true that *ad satiem* has been proposed, but this etymology does not explain the other Romance forms (see *Romania*, XXVIII, 485).

(*M*) Latin **c** (*e*, *i*) after a consonant gave Old Spanish *z* final = *ts*.

esto[*n*]*z*. *Cid* 1 (v. 2692). Cf. *estonçe*, the usual form of the word. See pp. 36 ff.

pez (= **piscem**). *C. & E.* 1 (p. 501, l. 15). Compare the plural with medial *ç* in *Caza*, *peçes*, p. 79, l. 18, and *Lab.*, *peces*, no. 34, v. 22. That final *z* was used with a voiceless value is here clear from the fact that it alternates with medial *ç*.

(*N*) Old Spanish *ç* from Germanic **s**.

loçano. *Poème d'Amour* 1 (v. 60). *Vision* 1 (p. 51, l. 18). *Lab.* 1 (no. 26, v. 39). This word Diez supposed to be descended from the Gothic **laus**, Old High German **lôs**.[5] But the etymon is entirely conjectural, and is perhaps to be rejected, as the change of Germanic *s* to *ç* is no more probable than that of Germanic *s* to *z*. We may be dealing here with the same sound as in *lezne*, *delez-nable*, and *arcabuzero*, whose *z* may well possess the *ts* value (see pp. 31, 32).

---

[1] The *ts* pronunciation of the *z* of *mezquino* is indicated by the *aljamiado* spelling *meçquino*; see below, p. 165.

[2] Stz. XI, l. 6.

[3] P. 451, l. 20; 470, 8; 475, 4; 500, 4; 507, 3; 509, 26; 513, 18; 521, 28.

[4] P. 14, l. 22; 19, 28; 45, 25; 75, ll. 20, 28; 76, 2; 77, 8; 86, 5.

[5] So Goldschmidt, *Altgermanisches im Spanischen*, p. 58.

(*O*) Old Spanish *ç* corresponding to Latin initial **s**.

çahondan (= * **subfundant**). *Caza* 1 (7, 26). The text has *cahondan*, which Baist (p. 92) corrects. The appearance of the prefix **sub-** as *ça* is not unexampled in Spanish. See *Romania*, II, 86 ff., where C. M. de Vasconcellos mentions *zahumar* (= **suffumare**), *zapuzar* (= * **subputeare**). The change of *u* to *a* must lead one to suspect some external influence, which is probably also responsible for the *ç*.

San Çalvador. *Cid* 1 (v. 2924). As an appellation the *San* and the *Çalvador* are inseparable and for phonetic purposes really form one word. In this word the *ç* may be due (1) to dissimilation (*s–s : s–ç*) or (2) to the influence of the *n* before it. It is very likely that, between *n* and an immediately following *s*, a dental was developed, so that *ns* became *nts*. For the *ts* sound Old Spanish possessed a single character *ç*, which was now substituted for the original *s*.

For Old French and Provençal, this development of *ts* out of *s* after *n* has been fully discussed and established. Thus, Chabaneau, in the *Revue des langues romanes*, V (1874), 333: "*z* = (*t*)*s* après *n*. C'est une loi phonique assez connue pour qu'il suffise ici de la rappeler, que, de même qu'une labiale muette (*p* ou *b*) s'introduit nécessairement entre *m* et *s* (ou toute autre dentale), de même une dentale muette (*t* ou *d*) s'introduit entre *n* et *s* (ou *r*)." Schuchardt in *Romania*, III, 285: "*ls*, *ns* sont phonétiquement identiques à *nz*, *lz*; la langue, en se portant du lieu d'articulation de *l* ou de *n* à celui de *s*, produit une dentale," etc.

P. Meyer, "D'un emploi non étymologique du *t* final en Provençal," *Romania*, VII, 107 ff., finds that for words which in the nominative end with *z* preceded by *n*, *r*, *l*, the objective case is often written with a final *t*; e.g. **carnem**–*cart*, **diurnum**–*jornt*. On p. 108, he says: "Dans les cas où le mot est terminé par un *z* (*jorntz*, *cavaltz*), la présence du *t* s'explique facilement: il sert à marquer plus fortement la prononciation de la double consonne *z*. Faut-il croire que par suite il a subsisté dans les cas où le *z* est absent?" etc.

Cf. Gröber in *Ztschr. f. rom. Phil.*, II, 491, for a critique of Paul Meyer's article. In *Romania*, VIII, 110 ff., Chabaneau con-

tinues the discussion and comes to the conclusion, p. 112: "Dans tous les cas que nous venons d'examiner, on doit considérer le *t* final, sinon comme étymologique, du moins comme justifié par la phonétique et la tradition."

Horning took up the matter in *Romanische Studien*, IV, 627. His explanation was not wholly satisfactory and was amended by Gröber in *Ztschr. f. rom. Phil.*, VI, 486: "Den von ihm [Horning] beiläufig berührten Fall *anz* (annos); *jornz* (diurnos) erläutert er nicht richtig, wenn er sagt, *z* in *anz* erkläre sich aus dem Schwund eines *n*; *z* (= *ts*) für *s* ist hier vielmehr, wie schon Chabaneau, *Revue des langues romanes*, V, 333, sah, durch das Zusammentreffen des alveolaren *n* mit *s* bedingt, hinter dem es stets im Altprovenzalischen wie Altfranzösischen eintritt." . . . *Ibid.*, p. 491: "Beim Zusammentreffen von (alveol.) *n*, *ñ* und *l*[1] mit *s* erfolgt im Provenzalischen und Französischen und auch bei *l fort* im Provenzalischen *t*-Epenthese." See also Paris, *Extraits de la Chanson de Roland, Observations grammaticales*, § 56. The phenomenon is Italian as well as French and Provençal. Cf. Meyer-Lübke, *Gramm.*, I, § 496, and especially § 500: "Endlich *nts*, *lts*, *rts* ist süditalienisch, aber auch der Toskana nicht unbekannt, vgl. siz. *sendzu*, *pendza*, *bortsa*, teram. *sents*$_{\circ}$, *pentsę*, *fadze* aus *falso*, vulgtosk. *pentsare*. Schon im Mittelalter schreiben die aquilinischen Chroniken *penzare* Bo. Rain. 71, *Firenza: defenza: penza: perdenza* 1093, *falzo* Land. Aquil. 7, 59; *volziste* 11, 3, *inzegna* 9, 27."

From the Italian examples, it is clear that the *n* need not, as in French, be palatalized or supported to insure the development of the *t* or *d*. If the *n* must be alveolar, Spanish will satisfy the conditions, since Araujo characterizes the Spanish *n* as alveolar: "El sonido *n* se produze apoyando el borde ántero-superiór de la lengua en los albéolos i los laterales en las muelas," etc. (*Fonétika Kastełana*, Santiago de Chile, 1894, p. 50).

For *San Çalvador* it may be urged that the case is really one of etymological *nt* + *s* (**Sanct-um Salvatorem**), but there are other cases in Old Spanish in which *nç* was very likely developed out of *ns*, without the mediation of an etymological *t*.

---

[1] On *lz* = palatalized *l* + *s*, see Koschwitz in *Ztschr. f. franz. Sprache*, XIV, 125.

çapato. Cid 1 (v. 3086). *C. & E., çapatos* 4, *çapatero* 12.[1] *Lab., çapatos* 2.[2] The source of this and allied Romance words is obscure. It has been referred, but without much probability, to Ger. **stap-** (*Stapfe*) and Latin **sappa**. See Körting, *Wörterb.*, s.v. * **cordubanus** and * **sapa-**.

çaphir. C. & E., çaphires 1 (p. 513, 2). *Stb., çafir* 3 (p. 7, ll. 10, 11; p. 8, l. 11). *Lab., zaphiros* 1 (no. 21, l. 19). In the *Lab.* form, the initial *z* probably means *ç*.[3] Apparently the word comes from **σάπφειρος**, Lat. **sapphīrus**.

çendales. Cid 2 (vv. 1509, 1971). The supposed Arabic source (*çandal*, with *ṣād*) is, according to Dozy (*Glossaire*, p. 378), only a late borrowing from the European languages, and is not found in the works of Arabic writers in Spain. The probable etymon is **σινδών**, 'a fine Indian cloth, muslin,' whence Lat. **sindon**, * **sindale** (Körting, s.v. * **sindale**).[4] The *ts* (or *dz*) sound is not confined to Old Spanish, but appears also in It. *zendale, zendado*, Provençal and Old French *cendal*, Middle High German *zendâl, zindâl*, Modern German *Zindel;* whence it may be inferred that there was a form parallel to **sindon, σινδών**, but commencing with a dental sibilant sound.

çentinela. Lab. 1 (no. 45, v. 9). The origin of the word is doubtful (see Körting, s.v. **sentīna**), but, as the other Romance forms begin with *s*, that is presumably the original consonant. The influence of some other word in **cen-** is to be supposed here.

çerrar. Cid, çerrada 2 (vv. 32, 39); *ençerro* 1 (v. 2695). *C. & E., çerrado* 1 (p. 501, l. 13); *ençerrar* 1 (473, 21); *ençieran* 1 (491, 10). *Stb., çerrador* (p. 18, l. 4; 26, 27); *ençerrada* 1 (31, 16); *ençerramientos* 1 (20, 17). *Caza, çierre* 1 (p. 65, l. 9); *çerrados* 2 (55, 16; 57, 30). *A. J. & B., çerrajas* 1 (p. 343, l. 24); *çerro* 1 (343, 24); *çerrados* 2 (353, 22; 362, 27); *ençerrar* and parts 10[5]; *ençer-*

---

[1] P. 444, ll. 4, 5, 11, 12; 443, ll. 14, 18, 20; 444, ll. 3, 4, 5, 16, 19, 20, 22, 24, 25.

[2] No. 48, v. 39; 65, 35.

[3] Cf. above, p. 35.

[4] Du Cange, *Glossarium*, has *sindon* and *syndon*.

[5] P. 339, l. 38; 340, 9; 344, 22; 346, 11; 368, 36; 376, 21; 380, 8; 381, 33; 382, 15; 384, 28.

ramiento 2.[1] *Lab.*, *cerrar*, etc., 5; *encierra*, 2; *encierran* 1; *encerramiento* 1.[2] From **serare.** Diez (*Wörterb.*, I, s.v. **serrare**) says: "Sp. *cerrar* mit *c* ist eine scheideform gegenüber dem vb. *serrar* sägen." Another explanation of the *ç* would be that it is due to the influence of the rather common verb *çercar*, which in sense approximates closely to *çerrar*.[3] Still another and perhaps a more plausible explanation can be based upon the theory already set forth, that *nç* may be developed out of *ns*.

In the instances given above, it is seen that the compound *ençerrar* occurs oftener than the simple verb and at just as early a period. It is possible, then, that the *ç* arose in *ençerrar* = ***entserrar** = ***inserrare**, and passed thence into *çerrar*, which, if it continued to be written with *s*, would seem to have no connection with its derivative.

çeruiçio. *Cid*, *çeruiçio* 1 (v. 1535); *ençeruiçio* 1 (v. 69; in Menéndez Pidal's edition *çervicio;* see his note). Here, too, the *ç* may have arisen in the derivative *ençeruiçio* = ** entserviçio* = ***inservitium.** There is also the possibility of mere assimilation.[4]

çimençera. *Caza* 5 (p. 74, ll. 9, 14; p. 75, l. 7; p. 77, l. 6; p. 79, l. 25). Baist (*Caza*, p. 112) derives the word from ***sementiaria** 'the sowing.' The first sibilant is assimilated to the second, which is rightly *ç*.

conçertar. *C. & E.*, *concerte* 1 (p. 446, l. 1). Diez derives it from ***consertare.** Phonetically, as **ns** could become *nç*, Diez's etymon presents no difficulty. Körting, however, makes the verb a derivative of **certare** (*Wörterb.*, s.v. **certare**); cf. Ital. *concertare.*

ençiençço (= **incensum**). *Caza* 1 (p. 65, l. 23). The second *nç* is (1) developed out of **ns**, or (2) is due to assimilation. This is, of

---

[1] P. 332, l. 17; 336, 36.

[2] Verb in no. 9, v. 60; 53, 15; 60, vv. 43, 46; 65, 42; noun in no. 56, v. 20; 72, 49; 27, 30; 72, 46.

[3] One may also think of the possibility of influence of *cierro*, 'hill.' The sense development, 'to surround with hills,' 'shut in,' is conceivable.

[4] Joret, *Du C dans les langues romanes*, p. 143, puts upon this form a wrong construction when he says: "La substitution de *ç* à *s* de *cerviçio*, PC., v. 69, si ce n'est point une faute de copiste, semble indiquer que la *ç* ne devait plus alors aussi avoir rigoureusement la valeur *ts*, mais en son se rapprochait de *s* sourd."

course, not a case of initial *ç*, but is introduced here because of its relation to the theory set up.

quiça. *Cid*, *quiçab* 1 (v. 2500). *A. J. & B.*, *quiça* 1 (p. 362, l. 5). *Lab.*, *quiça* 3 (no. 2, v. 25; no. 18, v. 44; no. 60, v. 48). From qui sapit, it is said. But initial *s* remains otherwise in sapere—*saber*, and medial *s* is regularly left unchanged.[1] Baist (*Grundriss*, I, 703) sees the influence of Andalusian pronunciation, yet the word appears so early (in the 14th century MS. of the *Cid*) that there is no question of any lisping, interdental pronunciation of *s*, but we are here dealing with *ts*, i.e. a dental + *s*, instead of *s*. *Quien sabe* (quem sapit) would give *nç*, but would leave us in difficulty as to an explanation of the loss of *n* in *quiça*, unless, indeed, we believe with Cornu (*Romania*, X, 92 and 93) and Baist (*Rom. Forschungen*, IV, 401), that the *n* of the combination *nç* could be suppressed. The examples which they give, however, all seem to be mere errors of the scribe, who sometimes forgot to put the nasal dash over the words in question, but in the great majority of cases wrote them with the nasal.

The conclusion warranted by the stated condition of affairs is, that Latin initial s did not, as such, develop regularly and phonetically into Old Spanish *ç*. In *San Çalvador*, *çerrar*, *ençerrar*, *çeruiçio*, *ençeruiçio*, *çimençera*, the *s* has become *ç* through assimilation, or through the fact that under certain conditions it ceased to be initial and was modified in its nature by its environment. Of the other cases, *quiça*, *çapato*, *çendal*, and *çentinela* are more or less obscure as to their origin.[2]

In *çahondan*, as in all other cases of Latin sub- = Old Spanish *ça-*, modern *za-*, the play of external forces must be apprehended, and the same doubtless holds true for *çafir(o)* also.[3]

---

[1] Cf. *Grundriss*, I, 703.

[2] *Cerdoso*, found in *Lab.*, no. 40. v. 38, is usually derived from sordidus, and therefore seems another case of initial *ç* for *s*. But *e*, answering to Latin ŏ, may suffice to discredit the assumed etymon. *Cedaço*, from setaceum, cited by Cuervo, *Revue hispanique*, II, 22, is probably an example of assimilation.

[3] *Concertar* is probably a derivative from certare. As the source of the modern *zueco*, Gröber sets up soccus (*Archiv f. lat. Lexicographie*, V, 471), but Schuchardt (*Ztschr. f. rom. Phil.*, XV, 106) says: "Dieses Wort kommt nicht wie Diez

The change of *s* to *ç* after *n* seems certainly exemplified in *trance* (cf. **transitus**), found outside of our texts, whose connection with **transitus** Baist disputes in the *Ztschr. f. rom. Phil.*, IX, 146 f., but allows in the *Grundriss*, I, 704. Whether *rroçin*, *Caza* 1 (p. 32, l. 29), comes under the same head can hardly be determined. On the one side, without a nasal before the sibilant, stand the Ger. **ross**, Old Fr. *ros*, *rosse*, *roussin*, Prov. *roci*, It. *rozza*, Sp. *rocin*, Port. *rossin*, and on the other, with the nasal, the Old Fr. *ronci*, *roncin* and the Middle Latin **runcinus**. See W. Foerster in the *Ztschr. f. rom. Phil.*, XIII, 538, and Körting, *Wörterb.* s.v. **ross-**.[1]

Rts out of **rs** is an Italian change noted by Meyer-Lübke.[2] Two possible but highly improbable instances of such a phenomenon are *Vision*, *perderçe* 1 (p. 59, l. 3) = *perderse;* and *C. & E.*, *sarças* 1 (p. 509, l. 17) = * **saris(s)a**, σάρισα. It is likely that *perderçe* is a mere mistake. That * **saris(s)a** is the source of *sarça*, modern *zarza*, is anything but certain, but granting that it is, the steps leading to *zarza* would be these: **saris(s)a*, **sarsa*, **sartsa* (**sarça*), **çarça*, *zarza*, the form **çarça* or *zarza* showing assimilation. That *salce* 'willow' = **salicem** has had influence upon the form of *zarza* 'bramble' is a possibility, but perhaps a very remote one.

(*P*) Old Spanish *ç*, *z* apparently from Latin **st**.

gozo (= **gustus**).[3] See above, p. 24.
moço (= **mustus**).[3] *Vision*, *moça* 1 (p. 54, l. 42). *C. & E.*, *moço* 7;

---

will, von lat. **soccus** her, wohl aber hat es zum Teil die romanische Gestalt des letzteren beeinflusst." The other text from the same MS. as the *A. J. & B.*, — the *Estoria de los cuatro doctores*, etc., — has, p. 106, l. 18, *çueco*, the true Old Spanish spelling, since *z* should not stand in the initial position.

[1] For two other cases of *nç* for *ns*, see below, p. 165. F. Hanssen, in his *Estudios ortográficos sobre la Astronomía del rei D. Alfonso X* (published in the *Anales de la Universidad*, Santiago de Chile, 1895), pp. 10 and 11, notes, as occurring in this text, *ascençonarios* (Vol. III, p. 49, l. 11; cf. *ascensionarios*, 3, 49, 15), *mança* (I, 34, 19 — H. says: "Actualmente se dice *manso;* la palabra tiene parentesco con *mansuetus* i *mansues*, pero su formacion es oscura"), *mançion* (I, 79, 26, and I, 134, 8; cf. I, 145, 16, *mansion*).

[2] Cf. above, p. 69.

[3] Diez, *Wörterb.*, II b, *s.v.*

moçedat 1.[1] *Stb.*, *moços* 1; *moças* 1.[2] *A. J. & B.*, *moço* and *moça* 29; *moçuelo* 1; *moçedat* 2.[3] *Lab.*, *moço* 4; *moça* 1.[4]

The change is at once suspicious, because in the one case there appears the voiced dental sibilant *z*, and in the other the voiceless dental sibilant *ç*, and there is no obvious reason for the different results. But these are not the only words in which the change has been supposed to take place. Diez (*Gramm.*, 3d ed., I, 231) and C. M. de Vasconcellos (*Rom. Wortschöpfung*, p. 258) mention quite a number of others, all of which Baist (*Ztschr. f. rom. Phil.*, IX, 146 ff.) dismisses from consideration, as not cases of **-st-** words. The cases in which modern *z* (Old Spanish *ç*; cf. *Cid*, vv. 905, 914, 941, 1088, *Saragoça*) answers to an original **st** are, he says, those (1) of place-names like *Zaragoza*,[5] *Baza*, *Ecija*, *Cazlona*, *Caceres* (= **Castra Caecilia**), which have been subjected to Arabic influence, (2) of an occasional common noun like *biznaga* = **pastinaca**, which also passed through the Arabic into Spanish (cf. Dozy and Engelmann, p. 240: *baçtīnāǧ* (with *sīn*) formed upon **pastinaca**), and (3) of true Arabic words. The *z* of *biznaga*, which is found in the *Lab.*, no. 61, v. 52, *viznaga*, denotes, of course, the voiceless *ç* (= Arabic *sīn*), which could not be written before a consonant, and in general it is the voiceless result that we find for Latin **-st-** words that have passed through the Arabic (cf. Cuervo, *Revue hispanique*, II (1895), p. 20—*Çaragoça*, *Baça*, etc.). For this reason it is clear that *gozo*, with an intervocalic and therefore voiced *z* in Old Spanish, cannot be sufficiently explained in the same way. Before we can understand the change in question, we must correct a slight awkwardness in Baist's statement,[6] according to which it would seem that an actual **st** of

---

[1] P. 482, l. 28; 483, 16; 484, ll. 4, 13, 26; 485, 4; 511, 1; 521, 11.

[2] P. 26, l. 1.

[3] P. 334, l. 7; 335, 31; 336, 40; 337, ll. 3, 7, 16, 29; 340, ll. 35, 39; 341, 9; 353, 37; 365, 39; 366, 18; 369, 32; 376, ll. 23, 28, 33, 38, 42, 44, 45; 377, ll. 31, 34; 379, ll. 2, 5, 43; 380, ll. 17, 20, 43; 364, 2; 396, 31.

[4] No. 12, vv. 1, 19, 25, 33; 49, 7.

[5] As stated, the *Cid* has *Saragoça*. The form *Çaragoça*, which also occurs in Old Spanish, being given by Lebrija, shows assimilation of the *s*.

[6] Which is due, not to any original misapprehension on Baist's part, but to the fact that conventionally — as in Dozy and Engelmann's *Glossaire* — *sīn* is transliterated as *s* and never by *ç*, which is used only for *ṣād*.

Arabic appeared as *z* or *ç* in Spanish. In dealing with the Arabic signs here concerned, *sīn* (or *ṣād*) + *ṭā*, we must remember that *sīn* and *ṣād* regularly passed into Old Spanish as *ts* (*ç*),[1] so that, for Old Spanish, at least, the combination is *tst* and not merely *st*. *Tst* (*ç* + *t*) produces normally *ç* (*ts*) in Old Spanish, as in **acceptorem**–* *açtor–açor*, — the second *t* having disappeared by dissimilation or by absorption in the dental sibilant before it, — and accordingly such a word as **pastinaca**, becoming *baçtinaǧ* (not merely *bastinaǧ*) in Arabic,[2] would show itself as *biznaga* (= *biçnaga*) in Spanish.[3]

There is no evidence that **gustus** and **mustus** passed through Arabic, so that for them the transformation of **-st-** into *z*, *ç* must be treated as a process purely Romance. But nowhere can we find traces of such a Romance development. Mere metathesis would produce *ts*, but a metathesis must not be arbitrarily assumed (cf. Baist, *Ztschr. f. rom. Phil.*, IX, 146). A reverse process seems to exist in the patois of Queige (J. Bauquier, *Une particularité du patois de Queige*, *Romania*, V, 493),[4] where *ts* has become *st*, **caballus**–*stevô*, and Cornu (*Romania*, VI, 449) supposes that the stages were: *ts*, *sts*, and by dissimilation *st*. If in Spain *st* could similarly reach the stage *sts*, the final result might well be *ts* instead of *st* (cf. **crescere**–* *crestser–cretser*, i.e. *creçer*), but Cornu has not stated how that stage is attained, and we cannot be justified in asserting it for Spanish.

---

[1] See above, pp. 59 ff. Why *sīn* should have received the same treatment as *ṣād* is a question for the student of Arabic phonology to answer. The fact is all that can be dealt with here. It seems certain that neither *sīn* nor *ṣād* passed into Spanish as *s*. Despite Baist's objections (*Ztschr. f. franz. Sprache*, XIII, 189) we must see an influence of **sacer** upon **çaqr** in Spanish *sacre*.

[2] With the other changes wrought in the word as it passed into Arabic we have no concern here. It is sufficient to note that, as Arabic has no voiceless labial stop, its voiced labial stop has to be used for Latin *p*; see Dozy and Engelmann, p. 280. Concerning the change of Arabic *ǵīm* to *g* when the word returns into Spanish, see *Rom. Forschungen*, IV, 397 ff.

[3] Cf. above, p. 62. Greek *μαστίχη* gave Arabic *almaçtaca*, whence Old Spanish *almazaque* (*z* = *ts*). An example of a true Arabic word that passed into Old Spanish is (Dozy and Engelmann, p. 223) *açtowan*, whence Old Spanish *çaguan* (see Cuervo, *Revue hispanique*, II, 19).

[4] Cf. Meyer-Lübke, *Gramm.*, I, § 482. The metathesis of *st* is not unexampled elsewhere; Middle Irish appears to have cases of *ts* for *st* and *vice versa*. But there is no evidence for its occurrence in the Romance languages.

Clearly the difficulties in the way of such a sound-change as that of *st* to *ts* are so great that **gustus** and **mustus** must be given up. In lieu of **gustus**, a source which is at least plausible has been suggested for *gozo*.[1] For *moço* it is not easy to find a satisfactory etymon that will meet both phonetic and sense requirements. Baist believes that the word is identical with the Italian *mozzo* (cf. *mozzo di nave* 'cabin-boy'), and that both words meant, in the first instance, 'the shorn one,' a meaning which has been made probable by Hofmann in *Rom. Forschungen*, I, 138 and 326, where he shows that the shearing of a boy's head was a mediæval custom. Rejecting Diez's derivation of *mozzo* from Dutch *mots*, Ger. *mutzen*, Baist proposes **muticus**, which is certainly objectionable on phonetic grounds (see *Ztschr. f. rom. Phil.*, VI, 118). The form * **mutius** (Gröber, *Archiv f. lat. Lexikographie*, IV, 126) is also unsatisfactory, since intervocalic **ty**, before or after the accent, should yield only *z*, and the present word always has *ç*. If * **muttius** could be assumed — cf. *plaça* = * **plattea**, *maça* = * **mattea** — the phonetic difficulties would be removed.

St, which, in all probability, never became *ç* or *z* in Old Spanish, is to-day undergoing a treatment like that which the combination received in French, and which seems the natural one for it. It is becoming reduced to **t**, and appears as such not only in colonial Spanish, but even in the conversational language of Madrid (Morel-Fatio, *Romania*, VIII, 620).

(*Q*) *Z* is found in these words of obscure origin.

alforones. *Cid*, v. 2649; cf. Dozy and Engelmann, *Glossaire*, p. 371; Storm in *Romania*, V, 165.
azemines. *C. & E.*, p. 509, l. 17.
calze. *Cana*, p. 76, l. 7; connected with **calcem**, * **calceare** (?).
girgonzas. *C. & E.*, p. 513, l. 2.
matizes. *Lab.*, no. 60, v. 17.
pizarras 'slates.' *Lab.*, no. 18, v. 1; connected by Diez with Spanish *piesa*. But the latter word has *ç* and not *z* in Old Spanish. The word may be of Basque origin; cf. Körting, *Wörterb.*, no. 712.

---

[1] See *Romania*, XXVII, 288–9.

somizo. *Caza*, no. 65, l. 13. See *ibid.*, p. 116.[1]
velmez, belmez. *Cid*, vv. 3073, 3636.
vezos. *Cid*, v. 3272.

(*R*) *Ç* occurs in the following words of obscure origin.

braçines. *Vision*, p. 57, l. 42. Toledo, the editor, adds the note: "*Braçines* por *brasiles*, de *brasil*, color de brasa ó de fuego." *S*, however, could not readily become *ç*.
çardenas. *C. & E.*, p. 513, l. 2.
cermeño 'muscadine pear-tree.' *Lab.*, no. 26, v. 27.
coçeras. *Cid*, v. 993.
[*conuçio.* *Cid*, v. 3643. Really *conuuo;* see Menéndez Pidal's edition.]
[*corças.* *Cid*, v. 2375. In the MS. *corcas;* see Menéndez Pidal's edition. Possibly a mistake for *croça* (modern *croza*) from * crocceam.]
corços. *C. & E.*, p. 496, l. 13; 500, 30; the modern *corzo* 'roe-deer.' Referred by Diez to (1) ζορκός, (2) * capreus; cf. Meyer-Lübke in *Ztschr. f. rom. Phil.*, X, 172: "Uebergang von i̯ zu *z* ist im Spanischen unerhört, *corzo* Reh stellt Diez zwar zu *caprea* aber schon deshalb mit Unrecht, weil *pr* nicht zu *ur* wird." In the *Gramm.*, I, § 21, Meyer-Lübke seems to include *corço* among the words of the pre-Roman vocabulary.
escruçies. *C. & E.*, p. 505, l. 2. Perhaps a mistake for *estruçies* = struthio.
estropieça. *Cid*, v. 2415; cf. Körting, *Wörterb.*, s.v. *porp.*
onçeros. *C. & E.*, p. 504, l. 28; Gräfenberg suggests the emendation *onçejos*.
quicio. *Lab.*, no. 26, v. 20; may be onomatopoetic, cf. Körting, nos. 6587, 6757.
rançal. *Cid*, vv. 183, 3087, 3493.
troçir. *Cid*, v. 307, etc. This cannot come from traducere, which would popularly develop as * *trozer*.[2] Cf. *torcer* (*Fernan Gonzalez*, 43 b).
vereços. *C. & E.*, p. 509, l. 12.

---

[1] Is this word from summum + -īcium?

[2] With the sense 'to translate' the word was found as *traduzir* in the Old Spanish translation of the *Iliad;* cf. above, p. 10, note 2.

Learned Words.

A learned development of Latin ti̯ and ci̯ words is clear wherever the i̯ remains. If the Old Spanish word has *ç* before the *i̯*, the form is entirely learned, as, e.g., *rraçion* (= rationem), *ofiçio* (= officium); if it has *z* before the *i̯*, the form may be termed a semi-learned one, as, e.g., *juyzio* (= judicium).[1] A learned treatment of intervocalic c (*e*, *i*) is apparent, in our fourteenth century and later texts, wherever the *ç* is still written. In the earlier texts, the mere appearance of the *ç* is not a sufficient test of the learned nature of the word, since an etymological principle may still have guided the spelling and a written *ç* may have corresponded to a voiced *z* sound, as in the cases already mentioned from the *Altspanische Glossen* (no. 173 *facet;* 110 *placet;* 248 *dicere;* etc.), the *Misterio* (p. 1, l. 6 *december;* 2, 16 *face* = facit; etc.), the *Poème d'Amour* (l. 78 *deçia;* 84 *deçir*), the *Débat* (l. 18 *façedes;* 43 *plaçe*) and the *Fragmento* (p. 61, ll. 5, 7, *fecist*).[2]

In the following list of the numerous learned words, abstracts with the suffixes *-çion* (= Lat. -tionem) and *-nçia* (= Lat. -ntiam, popular Old Spanish *-nça*) will be seen to occur very frequently.

aborçion. *Stb.*, p. 25, l. 26.

aborrençia. *A. J. & B.*, p. 346, l. 20; 348, 41; etc.

absolucion. *Lab.*, no. 56, v. 7.

abstenençia, abstinençia, astenençia. *Vision*, p. 57, l. 15; 55, 32. *A. J. & B.*, p. 360, l. 16.

abundançia, habundançia. *Stb.*, p. 21, l. 5. *A. J. & B.*, p. 340, l. 35 (cf. the popular *abondança*, p. 351, ll. 30, 43).

açidia. *Disputa*, stz. VI, v. 7.

---

[1] As intervocalic cy should presumably have yielded only *ç* in popular words, the appearance of *z* in cases like this of *juyzio* must be considered due to either (1) analogy, i.e. the attraction of ty words, or (2) a *later* popular development of the cy. If upon either of these grounds the form is not intelligible, it remains only to say that the *i̯* alone shows the learned origin. On *juyzio*, see pp. 55, 56.

[2] *Ç* appears a few times, in some of our later texts, for intervocalic Lat. c (*e*, *i*), in words that usually have *z*. This appearance of *ç* indicates for these cases, not a learned treatment, but the unvoicing of *z*, or a mere mistake on the part of the scribe. See the cases collected on p. 11.

acuçia. *Disputa*, stz. XIII, v. 5. *A. J. & B.*, p. 337, l. 39 (cf. p. 336, 18 *aguzeste*, a popular form of the verb).
acuçioso. *C. & E.*, p. 508, l. 3.
aficion. *Lab.*, no. 10, v. 32; 45, 19; etc.
ançiano. *C. & E.*, p. 452, l. 11; 454, 5; 459, 11; etc.
apreçiadura. *Cid*, vv. 3240, 3250.
arrogancia. *Lab.*, no. 61, v. 51.
artefiçio. *A. J. & B.*, p. 355, l. 8.
artifiçial. *Stb.*, p. 4, l. 20.
atençion. *Lab.*, no. 27, v. 21.
audiençia. *A. J. & B.*, p. 336, l. 3.
ausençia. *Lab.*, no. 3, v. 23; 15, 13; etc.
avariçia. *Vision*, p. 59, ll. 17, 48. *Disputa*, stz. VI, v. 6.
bendiçion. *Cid*, vv. 2226, 3400, 3421, 3439; cf. v. 2240 *bendictiones*, which is even more clearly learned.[1] *C. & E.*, p. 453, l. 12; 454, 2; 462, 27. *A. J. & B.*, p. 356, ll. 39, 40; 387, 25.
bienquerençia. *A. J. & B.*, p. 348, l. 17; 350, 27; etc.
Capadoçia. *Stb.*, p. 26, l. 24.
çeliçio. *A. J. & B.*, p. 332, l. 15; 338, 40; etc.
çeruiçio. *Cid*, v. 1535. Cf. *ençerviçio*, below.
çiençia, sçiençia. *C. & E.*, p. 448, l. 7; 446, 21; 467, 29; etc. *A. J. & B.*, p. 355, l. 1; 371, 10; 378, 13; etc. *Lab.*, no. 58, v. 29.
cobdiçia, cobdyçia. *Vision*, p. 60, l. 1. *Disputa*, stz. VI, v. 7. *A. J. & B.*, p. 336, l. 1; 356, 37; etc.
cobdiçiar and parts. *Vision*, p. 54, l. 12; 55, ll. 8, 11; 59, 43. *Disputa*, stz. X, v. 6. *C. & E.*, p. 491, ll. 8, 9. *Caza*, p. 1, l. 6. *A. J. & B.*, p. 361, l. 41; 378, 5; etc.
cobdiçioso. *A. J. & B.*, p. 369, l. 20; 370, 11.
comparaçion, conparaçion. *C. & E.*, p. 518, ll. 21, 27. *A. J. & B.*, p. 337, l. 8; 359, ll. 25, 38.
conçençia, consçençia, conciencia. *A. J. & B.*, p. 336, l. 32; 352, 26; 389, 12. *Lab.*, no. 56, v. 28.

---

[1] A number of the learned words occurring in the *Cid* have been collected by F. Koerbs, *Untersuchung der sprachlichen Eigentümlichkeiten des altspanischen Poema del Cid* (Frankfurt am Main, 1893), pp. 38 f. Koerbs rests under a misapprehension when he terms words like *graçia*, *çerviçio*, etc., popular.

condenaçion. *A. J. & B.*, p. 344, l. 31; 346, 14; etc.
condiçion. *Vision*, p. 57, l. 11. *Lab.*, no. 25, v. 14.
confiçionante. *A. J. & B.*, p. 370, l. 13.
confirmaçion. *C. & E.*, p. 490, l. 17. *A. J. & B.*, p. 334, l. 25.
conpensaçion. *A. J. & B.*, p. 358, l. 34.
conpusiçion. *A. J. & B.*, p. 349, l. 39.
consolaçion. *A. J. & B.*, p. 348, l. 25; 366, 15.
contençion. *A. J. & B.*, p. 383, l. 24.
contenplaçion. *A. J. & B.*, p. 340, l. 17; 390, 31; etc.
continençia. *A. J. & B.*, p. 381, l. 17.
contraçion. *Vision*, p. 55, l. 38.
contradiçion. *A. J. & B.*, p. 351, l. 20.
contreçion, contriçion. *A. J. & B.*, p. 366, l. 12; 377, 25; 387, 10.
conuersaçion. *Stb.*, p. 8, l. 17. *A. J. & B.*, p. 335, l. 29; 336, 7; etc.
corrunçion, corrupçion. *A. J. & B.*, p. 344, l. 37; 346, 13; etc.
correspondencia. *Lab.*, no. 43, v. 21; 56, 42.
creençia, crençia. *Caza*, p. 28, l. 4; 29, 10; 31, 22.
cruçificar, etc. *A. J. & B.*, p. 356, l. 18; 371, 7; 395, 39; 335, 37 (*crusçificado*).
dapñaçion. *A. J. & B.*, p. 339, l. 26.
decimo. *Lab.*, no. 55, v. 57: this may be a learned form, as it is here applied to the tenth commandment, or it may be an instance of the late interchange of *ç* and *z*, which this text otherwise avoids.
deferençia (= differentiam). *A. J. & B.*, p. 359, l. 24.
delectaçion. *A. J. & B.*, p. 338, l. 16; 340, 26; etc.
delibraçion. *A. J. & B.*, p. 378, l. 43; 383, 42.
deliçio. *Cid*, vv. 850, 1639, 3282, 3284.
denunçiaçion. *A. J. & B.*, p. 337, l. 14.
departiçion. *Cid*, v. 2631.
deseruiçio. *C. & E.*, p. 481, l. 8; 510, 18; 511, 32.
desesperaçion. *Vision*, p. 56, l. 29. *Lab.*, no. 25, v. 20.
desgracia. *Lab.*, no. 47, v. 58.
desobediençia. *A. J. & B.*, p. 380, l. 29.
desperaçion. *A. J. & B.*, p. 373, l. 14.
despreciar, etc. *Lab.*, no. 47, v. 50.
desprecio. *Lab.*, no. 47, v. 7.

desputaçion. *Vision*, p. 59, l. 21. See *disputaçion.*
deuoçion. *Vision*, p. 57, l. 14. *A. J. & B.*, p. 360, l. 37. *Lab.*, no. 65, v. 26.
diferençia. *C. & E.*, p. 456, l. 6; 457, 10; 518, 34. *Caza*, p. 13, l. 29 (*defferençia*). See above, *deferençia.*
dificilmente. *Lab.*, no. 70, v. 50.
difinicion. *Lab.*, no. 72, v. 3.
diligençia. *Stb.*, p. 31, l. 8. *A. J. & B.*, p. 389, l. 21.
discrecion. *A. J. & B.*, no. 47, v. 16.
dispensaçion. *A. J. & B.*, p. 378, ll. 32, 33, 36.
disposiçion. *A. J. & B.*, p. 371, l. 17.
disputaçion. *A. J. & B.*, p. 361, l. 12; 372, 6; see above, *desputaçion.*
distençion (= distinctionem). *A. J. & B.*, p. 340, l. 37.
dolençia. *Caza*, p. 5, ll. 7, 9; 19, 26; etc. *Lab.*, no. 38, v. 11.
edefiçio, hedefiçio. *Vision*, p. 52, l. 4. *C. & E.*, p. 512, ll. 28, 29; 513, ll. 7, 9.
efficaçia. *Stb.*, p. 10, l. 22.
Egipçiano. *A. J. & B.*, p. 333, l. 34; 344, 26; etc.
embarcacion. *Lab.*, no. 45, v. 20.
encarnaçion. *Cid*, v. 333.
ençeruiçio. *Cid*, v. 69. (Menéndez Pidal's edition has *çervicio.*)
enffurçion. *Cid*, v. 2849.
entençion. *Débat*, l. 68. *Cid*, v. 3464. *Disputa*, stz. XII, v. 4 (*entinçion*). *C. & E.*, p. 444, l. 30; 446, 3; etc. *Caza*, p. 3, l. 9. *A. J. & B.*, p. 347, l. 1; 349, 12.
entonacion. *Lab.*, no. 27, v. 20.
epistiçe. *Stb.*, p. 31, ll. 18, 19; 32, 6.
escusaçion. *A. J. & B.*, p. 337, l. 13; 354, 19.
espaçiar, etc. *A. J. & B.*, p. 383, l. 36.
espaçio. *Cid*, vv. 1768, 2972. *Vision*, p. 51, l. 26; 57, 33. *A. J. & B.*, p. 361, l. 26; 393, 16. *Lab.*, no. 29, v. 30.
espaçioso. *Vision*, p. 51, l. 22.
espeçia. *Vision*, p. 52, l. 10.
espeçie. *Stb.*, p. 14, l. 24; 24, 20.
esperençia (= experientiam). *Vision*, p. 54, l. 44; 55, 14 (*esperançia*, a mistake); 60, 14.

esposeçion. *A. J.* & *B.*, p. 349, l. 32.
essencia. *Lab.*, no. 27, v. 8.
estruçio. *A. J.* & *B.*, p. 345, ll. 35, 45.
excelencia. *Lab.*, no. 36, v. 4; 58, 22.
experiençia. *Stb.*, p. 20, l. 8; 30, 19; 32, 13; see *esperençia*, above.
extimaçion (= **aestimationem**). *Stb.*, p. 17, l. 6.
façil. *Stb.*, p. 17, v. 4. *Lab.*, no. 34, v. 13.
façion. *C.* & *E.*, p. 502, v. 3. *Caza*, p. 4, v. 14; 8, 24; 9, 1; etc. (cf. p. 11, l. 1 *faziones*, which is either erroneous or semi-learned). *A. J.* & *B.*, p. 333, l. 29. *Lab.*, no. 48, v. 5.
fornicaçion. *A. J.* & *B.*, p. 334, ll. 5, 7; 369, 30.
fornicio. *Altspanische Glossen*, no. 75. *C.* & *E.*, p. 491, l. 6.
Françia. *Poème d'Amour*, l. 8. *Vision*, p. 50, l. 2.
gaçio. *Stb.*, p. 18, ll. 15, 16; 19, 8.
Galliçia. *Caza*, p. 3, l. 30 (cf. p. 46, l. 7, *Gallizia*).
ganançia. *Cid*, vv. 130, 165, 177, etc. *C.* & *E.*, p. 458, 7. *A. J.* & *B.*, p. 362, l. 35.
generaçion. *A. J.* & *B.*, p. 344, ll. 23, 25; 346, 4; etc.
glorificaçion. *A. J.* & *B.*, p. 386, l. 24.
graçia. *Cid*, vv. 50, 248, 870, etc. *Vision*, p. 56, l. 18; 57, 20. *Stb.*, p. 7, l. 8; 10, 6; 20, 27; 34, 8. *Disputa*, stz. VII, v. 4. *C.* & *E.*, p. 446, ll. 12, 15; 445, ll. 2, 3; etc. (cf. p. 467, l. 12, *grazia*, which is doubtless a mistake and may indicate the beginning of the unvoicing of *z*). *A. J.* & *B.*, p. 333, l. 40; 335, 8; etc. *Lab.*, no. 3, v. 17; 11, 17; etc.
graçioso. *Stb.*, p. 18, l. 2. *Lab.*, no. 69, v. 33.
guarnicion. *Lab.*, no. 46, v. 29; 65, 30.
habitaçion. *Stb.*, p. 15, l. 4.
heterecia. *Stb.*, p. 25, l. 8.
homiçidia. *Disputa*, stz. VI, v. 7.
homiçidio. *A. J.* & *B.*, p. 386, l. 18.
imaginacion. *Lab.*, no. 25, v. 12.
inclemencia. *Lab.*, no. 60, v. 52.
infançia. *A. J.* & *B.*, p. 337, l. 17.
inflaçion. *Stb.*, p. 18, l. 21 (cf. the popular *hinchazon*, *Lab.*, no. 48, v. 47).
influençia. *Caza*, p. 54, l. 3.

inquisiçion. *A. J.* & *B.*, p. 366, l. 37.
instançia. *A. J.* & *B.*, p. 372, l. 3.
intençion. *Stb.*, p. 12, l. 2.
interpretaçion. *Stb.*, p. 3, l. 20.
jaçinto. *Stb.*, p. 8, l. 23; 15, ll. 9, 11, 19; etc. *Lab.*, no. 19, v. 4.
juridiçion. *Vision*, p. 54, l. 5.
justiçia. *Vision*, p. 59, l. 5; 60, ll. 24, 26. *C.* & *E.*, p. 493, l. 1; 515, 12; etc. *A. J.* & *B.*, p. 352, l. 41; 371, 21; etc.
justiçiero. *C.* & *E.*, p. 444, l. 9; 492, 30.
Laçedonio. *A. J.* & *B.*, p 370, l. 15 (*Dario Lacedonio*).
lecçion. *C.* & *E.*, p. 449, l. 20.
liçençia. *Stb.*, p. 15, l. 8. *Lab.*, no. 2, v. 1; 26, 36; etc.
licenciar. *Lab.*, no. 65, v. 64.
Liçia. *Stb.*, p. 18, l. 16.
liçito. *Stb.*, p. 27, l. 2.
Lucinda. *Lab.*, no. 21, v. 16.
Maçedo. *Stb.*, p. 33, l. 25.
maliçia. *A. J.* & *B.*, p. 344, l. 16; 374, 35.
maliçioso, malesçioso, malyçioso. *A. J.* & *B.*, p. 338, l. 1. *Lab.*, no. 40, v. 34. *Vision*, p. 51, l. 10.
malquerençia. *C.* & *E.*, p. 491, l. 21.
manifestaçion. *A. J.* & *B.*, p. 372, l. 19.
medicina. *Stb.*, p. 32, l. 20.
mediçinal. *Stb.*, p. 32, l. 18.
mençion. *Caza*, p. 8, l. 28; 72, 23.
menospreçiable. *A. J.* & *B.*, p. 348, l. 44.
menospreçiador. *A. J.* & *B.*, p. 366, l. 3; 394, 12.
menospreçiamiento. *A. J.* & *B.*, p. 335, l. 5; 352, 17.
menospreçiar, etc. *Stb.*, p. 2, l. 21; 3, 22; 8, 15. *A. J.* & *B.*, p. 352, l. 23; 336, 7; etc.
menospreçio. *Stb.*, p. 3, l. 22.
Murçia. *C.* & *E.*, p. 446, l. 15. *Caza*, p. 45, ll. 7, 13; 68, 21; etc.
nasçençia. *A. J.* & *B.*, p. 339, l. 41; 356, 14; etc.
neçio, nesçio. *Vision*, p. 57, l. 6; 59, 23; 57, 8. *Lab.*, no. 55, v. 38; 61, 8.
negligençia. *A. J.* & *B.*, p. 357, l. 21.
negoçio. *Stb.*, p. 18, l. 6. *A. J.* & *B.*, p. 348, l. 1; 349, 11; etc.

nesçesidat. *Vision*, p. 54, l. 2. *A. J. & B.*, p. 368, ll. 18, 40, *neçesidat.*

nesçesario. *Vision*, p. 59, l. 4. *A. J. & B.*, p. 342, l. 30; 352, 33.

Niçena. *A. J. & B.*, p. 357, l. 43.

nigromançia. *Stb.*, p. 7, l. 28.

noçiuo. *Stb.*, p. 18, l. 10.

nouiçio. *Lab.*, no. 44, v. 37.

obedençia, obediençia. *A. J. & B.*, p. 348, l. 37. *Lab.*, no. 56, v. 40.

oblaçion. *A. J. & B.*, p. 374, l. 25.

obligaçion. *Lab.*, no. 8, v. 30; 22, 8.

offerçione. *Altspanische Glossen*, no. 259.

oficial. *C. & E.*, p. 518, l. 33.

oficio. *C. & E.*, p. 461, l. 23. *A. J. & B.*, p. 385, l. 45; 392, 27. *Lab.*, no. 19, v. 28.

oraçion. *Fragmento*, p. 61, l. 7. *Cid*, vv. 54, 366, 853, 1395, 3384. *Vision*, p. 51, l. 2; 55, 29; 57, 13; etc. *Stb.*, p. 9, l. 10. *C. & E.*, p. 446, l. 16; 512, 10; etc. *A. J. & B.*, p. 333, l. 28; 334, 6; etc. The first two cases in the *Cid* are abbreviated.

paçiençia. *A. J. & B.*, p. 385, l. 40. *Lab.*, no. 27, v. 24.

paçiente. *A. J. & B.*, p. 385, l. 36.

palaçio. *Cid*, vv. 115, 182, 1652, 1761, etc. *Vision*, p. 51, ll. 21, 25; 52, 4; etc. *A. J. & B.*, p. 332, l. 18; 336, 36; 338, 12; etc.

Palençia. *Caza*, p. 68, l. 9.

Paluçio (= Pollux?). *A. J. & B.*, p. 370, l. 2.

parçionero. *A. J. & B.*, p. 354, l. 15; 364, 34; etc.

paresçençia. *A. J. & B.*, p. 357, l. 12.

parriçida. *A. J. & B.*, p. 370, l. 7.

partiçion. *Cid*, v. 2567; see above, *departiçion.*

penitençia. *Fragmento*, p. 61, l. 7. *Disputa*, stz. V v. 7. *C. & E.*, p. 453, ll. 14, 15; etc. *Lab.*, no. 56, v. 66.

perdiçion. *Vision*, p. 53, l. 29; 56, 10; 60, 1. *Disputa*, stz. XII, v. 5. *A. J. & B.*, p. 336, l. 23; 352, 9; etc. *Lab.*, no. 13, v. 24.

perestençia. *A. J. & B.*, p. 373, l. 17.

perfiçion. *Vision*, p. 57, l. 11. *Lab.*, no. 26, v. 12.

persecuçion. *A. J. & B.*, p. 336, l. 33; 339, 39; etc.

perseuerançia. *A. J. & B.*, p. 332, l. 31; 394, 10 (cf. the popular treatment of -antiam in p. 346, l. 28; 357, 11, *perseuerança*).

petiçion. *A. J. & B.*, p. 336, l. 4; 359, 16; etc.
Poliçite. *Vision*, p. 54, l. 24; cf. *Polytyçes*, p. 54, l. 15.
posiçion. *Stb.*, p. 7, l. 9.
potençia. *Lab.*, no. 43, v. 24.
preçiar, etc. *Débat*, l. 17. *Cid*, vv. 77, 475, 1018, 1591, etc. *Vision*, p. 50, l. 3; 55, 43; 59, 27. *Stb.*, p. 22, ll. 22, 23. *C. & E.*, p. 443, l. 6; 464, 5; etc. *Caza*, p. 5, l. 16; 47, 10; 6, 5 (*presçiados*). *A. J. & B.*, p. 376, l. 13. *Lab.*, no. 47, v. 49.
preçio. *Altspanische Glossen*, no. 257. *Stb.*, p. 3, l. 2; 4, 10; 17, 21; 24, 23. *Caza*, p. 82, l. 27 (*presçio*). *A. J. & B.*, p. 343, ll. 28, 29, 31.
preçioso. *Cid*, vv. 1762, 2216. *Vision*, p. 52, l. 5. *Stb.*, p. 2, l. 13; etc. *C. & E.*, p. 509, ll. 29, 30; etc. *A. J. & B.*, p. 341, ll. 38, 44; etc.
predicaçion. *Stb.*, p. 9, l. 22. *A. J. & B.*, p. 353, l. 18; 355, 4; etc.
presençia. *A. J. & B.*, p. 341, l. 19; 374, 23; etc. *Lab.*, no. 26, v. 35; etc.
presumpçiones. *C. & E.*, p. 505, l. 21.
primiçia. *Fragmento*, p. 61, l. 7. *Lab.*, no. 27, v. 36; 36, 86.
priuacion. *Lab.*, no. 27, v. 41.
profeçia. *Misterio*, p. 2, l. 29. *A. J. & B.*, p. 352, l. 23.
pronunçiar. *Vision*, p. 51, l. 28.
protestaçion. *C. & E.*, p. 446, l. 9.
prouençia, prouiençia. *Vision*, p. 51, l. 16. *A. J. & B.*, p. 371, l. 20.
Prouençio. *Caza*, p. 78, l. 10.
prouidençia. *A. J. & B.*, p. 344, l. 19; 367, 40.
prudençia. *Lab.*, no. 56, v. 38.
rraçion. *Cid*, vv. 2329, 2467, 2773, 3388 (v. 3216, *rraçon* is a later insertion in the MS.). *C. & E.*, p. 497, l. 19.
rrendiçion. *Vision*, p. 57, l. 13.
rrenunçiar. *Vision*, p. 58, l. 44. *A. J. & B.*, p. 378, l. 7; 384, 3; etc. *Lab.*, no. 49, v. 53.
rrepentençia. *A. J. & B.*, p. 385, l. 26.
resistençia. *Lab.*, no. 15, v. 32.
rresureçion. *A. J. & B.*, p. 345, l. 10; 346, 15; etc.
rreuelaçion. *A. J. & B.*, p. 341, l. 30; 396, 3.
rreuerençia. *Vision*, p. 59, ll. 30, 37. *A. J. & B.*, p. 343, l. 44; etc.
reuerenciar. *Lab.*, no. 3, v. 18.

saçerdote. *A. J.* & *B.*, p. 371, l. 35; 372, 20; etc.
sacrifiçio. *C.* & *E.*, p. 512, l. 9. *A. J.* & *B.*, p. 336, l. 41; 360, 11; 368, 25. *Lab.*, no. 56, v. 36.
saludaçion. *A. J.* & *B.*, p. 392, l. 16.
santificaçion. *A. J.* & *B.*, p. 389, l. 41.
sardoniçe. *Stb.*, p. 12, ll. 6, 7, 21.
satisfaçion. *A. J.* & *B.*, p. 362, l. 24.
sçiençia. See above, *çiençia.*
sediçion. *Stb.*, p. 33, l. 7.
sentençia. *Vision*, p. 51, l. 28; 59, 47. *Stb.*, p. 17, l. 7. *Disputa*, stz. XI, v. 4. *A. J.* & *B.*, p. 343, l. 8; 362, 37; etc. *Lab.*, no. 28, v. 19.
serbiciales. *Altspanische Glossen*, no. 245; see below, *seruiçio.*
seruiçio. *Vision*, p. 50, l. 4; 53, 41; 55, ll. 12, 45; 58, 19. *Stb.*, p. 32, l. 12. *C.* & *E.*, p. 447, l. 8; 450, 8; etc. *A. J.* & *B.*, p. 391, l. 1; 392, 38. *Lab.*, no. 26, v. 19; 27, 25; etc.
Siçilia, Sçiçilia. *Stb.*, p. 19, l. 8; 4, 11; 5, 10; cf. 4, 12, *Sçiçilianos.*
soliçito. *Stb.*, p. 2, l. 7.
soluçion. *Stb.*, p. 15, l. 13.
speçialmente. *Stb.*, p. 20, l. 5. *Caza*, p. 2, l. 5.
speçie. *Stb.*, p. 1, l. 3; 6, 10; etc.
sylençio, silencio. *Vision*, p. 51, l. 1. *Lab.*, no. 2, v. 4; 24, 2.
suspiçion. *Stb.*, p. 15, l. 13.
sustituçion. *A. J.* & *B.*, p. 334, l. 24.
temperançia. *Stb.*, p. 16, l. 16.
tentaçion. *A. J.* & *B.*, p. 334, l. 28; 390, 41; etc.
terçia (i.e. third canonical hour). *Caza*, p. 41, l. 7. *Lab.*, no. 62, v. 32.
terçio. *Lab.*, no. 8, v. 38.
tericia. *Lab.*, no. 62, v. 32.
trasfiguraçion. *A. J.* & *B.*, p. 392, l. 7.
traslaçion. *A. J.* & *B.*, p. 396, l. 26.
trayçion, traçion. *Cid*, v. 2660. *Vision*, p. 55, l. 22; 57, 6. *Stb.*, p. 32, l. 1. *Disputa*, stz. XII, v. 1. *A. J.* & *B.*, p. 334, l. 12; 379, 41.
trybulaçion, tribulaçion. *Vision*, p. 56, l. 26. *Disputa*, stz. VIII, v. 3. *A. J.* & *B.*, p. 337, l. 41; 340, 41; etc.
turbaçion. *Stb.*, p. 28, l. 7. *A. J.* & *B.*, p. 388, l. 6.
vnçion. *C.* & *E.*, p. 490, l. 19.

Valençia. *Cid*, vv. 627, 1097, 1098, etc.
Valenciano. *Lab.*, no. 74, v. 30.
Vejeçio (= **Vegetius**). *C. & E.*, p. 454, l. 15.
ueloçe. *Stb.*, p. 21, l. 15.
veneracion. *Lab.*, no. 3, v. 15.
uiçio. *Stb.*, p. 16, l. 24.
violençia. *Lab.*, no. 15, v. 33.
vocaçion. *Cid*, v. 1669.
xarcias. *Lab.*, no. 37, v. 24.
ygnorançie (intended for the Latin genitive). *Caza*, p. 81, l. 1.

Conclusions for the Sources of Ç and Z.

The Old Spanish voiced sibilant *z* had, therefore, these certain sources:

Lat. intervocalic **c** (*e*, *i*), and apparently Basque intervocalic **c** (*e*),
Lat. intervocalic **ty**,
Lat. (Gk.) **z**, not initial,
Arabic *zāy;*

and these apparent sources, from which its evolution could hardly be expected:

Lat. intervocalic **cy**,
Lat. **cy** after **r**,
Lat. **g** (*e*, *i*) after **r**, **n**,
Lat. **s** after **r**,
Lat. **ty** after **n**.

Its seeming sources which must be rejected are:

Lat. intervocalic **g** (*e*, *i*),
Lat. intervocalic **dy**,
Ger. **s**[1],
Lat. **s**[2],
Lat. **st**.

---

[1] On O.H.G. **z** as a source of Spanish *z* or *ç*, see above, p. 24, note 4.

[2] Mugica, *Gramática del castellano antiguo*, Part I, p. 70, and Cuervo, *Revue hispanique*, II, 17, think that Lat. intervocalic **sy** produced Spanish *z* in *cereza*

The Old Spanish voiceless sibilant *ç* had these certain sources:

Lat. initial **c** (*e*, *i*),
Lat. (Gk.) initial **z**,
Lat. **c** (*e*, *i*) after a consonant,
Lat. **ty** after a consonant,
Lat. **cy** after a consonant,
Lat. intervocalic **cy**,
Arabic *ṣād* and *sīn* not final and not at the end of one syllable before the initial consonant of the next syllable,
Lat. intervocalic **c** (*e*, *i*), **ty**, **cy** in learned words,
Lat. **s** after *n*.

The Old Spanish graphic *z*, used with the value of *ç*, had these sources:

Lat. final **t's**,
Lat. **c** (*e*, *i*) after a consonant and becoming final,
Arabic *ṣād* and *sīn*, when final, or at the end of one syllable before the initial consonant of the next.
The analogical *ç* of inceptive verbs, which could not be written before a consonant.

The apparent sources of *ç* to be rejected or regarded as very doubtful are:

Lat. initial **s**,
Lat. **st**,
Lat. **dy** after a consonant,
Ger. **s**.

The different origins of *z* and *ç* and the difference in their usage being now obvious, it remains necessary to examine the testimony as to their value, which has all along been assumed to be that of *ts* for the latter and *dz* for the former.

Their sibilant character is established by the Arabic and the Hebrew transliteration of *ç* with *sīn* and *samekh* and *z* with *zāy*

---

and *cerveza*, which come, supposedly, from ***ceresia** and **cervĭsia**. Intervocalic **sy** could give no consonant but *s* in Spanish; see *Ztschr. f. rom. Phil.*, XVII, 567. Note that the Portuguese has *j* in both *cereja* and *cerveja*.

and *zayin.* For *ç* it is further indicated by the absorption of **s** in the Latin combinations **sce, sci,** e.g. **crescere**–*creçer*, **scintillam**–*çentella.*

Ç. The dental element at the beginning of *ç* is made probable *a priori* by the dissimilation or absorption of *t* in *açor* from **acceptorem**[1] (***acceptorem**–*acetor*–*açtor*, i.e. *atstor*–*açor*, i.e. *atsor*).

Both elements in the *ç* are clear from the grammatical and other notes collected by Cuervo (*Revue hispanique*, II, 30 ff.), of which a brief recapitulation may be here given. — Antonio de Lebrija (1444–1532), in his treatise *De literis hebraicis*, gives *ç* as the equivalent of the Hebrew *samekh* and *çade.* Pedro de Alcalá, in his *Vocabulista* (publ. 1505, see the recent edition, *Petri Hispani de Lingua Arabica libri duo*, ed. P. de Lagarde, Göttingen, 1883), transcribes Arabic *ṣād* and *sīn* with *ç*, and the same principle is followed in the *Libros de Astronomía* of Alfonso el Sabio (see new edition, Madrid, 1863–67). Juan Valdés, in the *Diálogo de la lengua* (*circa* 1540; see the Madrid edition, 1860, pp. 39, 100), says that *ç* has the value of *z*, that is, doubtless, the voiceless Italian *z* (= *ts*). Alfonso de Ulloa, *Introdutione che mostra il Signor Alfonso di Uglioa a proferir la lingua castigliana* (1553), puts *ç* = It. *z* of *danza.* M. G. Mario Alessandri d' Urbino, *Il paragone della lingua Toscana et Castigliana*, p. 5 (1560; cf. E. Dias in *Ztschr. f. rom. Phil.*, XI, 419), has *ç* = It. *z* of *confidenza, scherzo*, etc. Christoval de las Casas, *Vocabulario de las dos lenguas toscana y castellana* (Seville, 1570), has *c* (*e, i*) = It. *z* and *ti*; e.g. in *çarcel, vicio*, the *c* has a sound like that of *z* and *ti* in It. *calze, vitio*; *ç* = It. voiceless *z*, e.g. *çanca, çopo, açucar* = It. *zanca, zoppo, zucchero.* Juan de Miranda, *Osservationi della lingua castigliana* (Venice, 1595) has *ç* = Tuscan *z* of *danza, forza.* D. Luis de Avila y Çúñiga, who was in Germany with Charles V., in 1546–47, wrote in his *Comentario* (publ. in Venice, 1548), *Lançuet* for *Landshut, Çuibica* for *Zwickau*, and *Uncerfater* for *Unser Vater.* All of these German words must have had the sound *ts*, which was due in the last case to the combination of *n* and *s*. When in *Xefermecer* for *Schäfermesser*[2] he used *ç* for the sound of German *ss*, Avila hardly intended to give an exact phonetic equivalent, but probably considered that *ç* was nearer than the Spanish cacuminal *s* to the sound in question.

---

[1] See pp. 37, 75. [2] Or *Schermesser* (?); cf. *Revue hispanique*, II, 54.

The five writers just mentioned testify to the *ts* value of *ç*. Others waver between *ts* and the sound of (French) *ss*, but certainly never mean a mere voiceless *s*. *Util y breve institution para aprender los principios y fundamentos de la lengua Hespañola* (Louvain, 1555): "Pronunciasse pues *ç* . . . mas asperamente que la *s*, y mas delicadamente que si fuesse *z*. . . . Pronunciasse finalmente mas aspero que *Caesar*, en Latin." *Gramatica de la lengua vulgar de España* (Louvain, 1559) says that *ç* sounds like the Latin *t* of *perfectio*, *ratio*, etc., and the French *c* of *certain*, *citoyen*. Commenting upon these two notes, Cuervo (l.c., p. 33) says that they refer to the German pronunciation of Latin *c* and *t*, e.g. as in *Tsitsero*, *litsium* for *Cicero*, *litium*. C. Oudin, *Grammaire espagnolle mise et expliquée en françois* (Paris, 1610), puts *ç* = French *ç* or *s*.[1] H. Doergank, *Institutiones in linguam hispanicam* (Cologne, 1614): "*C* caudatum effertur ut geminum *ss*," but also "*c* caudatum idem valet ut apud italos unicum *z*." A. de Salazar, *Espeio general de la Gramática* ("Ruán," 1622) terms *ç* about the same in sound as the French *ss*. More interesting, in a certain way, than all the previous testimony is that of John Minsheu in the 1623 edition of his *Spanish Grammar* (London): "*Ç* is sounded by putting the tongue to the rankes of the teeth, as the French *Viença* or very near: the Italian *z*, as *diligenza*, *scienza*. This *ç* must be so pronounced, whether it be at the beginning, end or middle of a word, though *a*, *o* or *u* follow, and is sounded as in English *ths*, as *çaraguelles* . . . *çoçobra* . . . *çufre:* pronounce *thsaraguelles*, *thsosobra*, *thsufre:* in the like manner before *e i*, as *cenogiles*, *ciento* . . . pronounce *thsenogiles*, *thsiento*."

Evidence in addition to that quoted by Cuervo is yielded by the remarks of some English lexicographers.[2] Richard Percyuall, *Bibliotheca Hispanica* (London, 1591), says: "*C* before *a o u* like *k*, as *Cabo*, *Cobrar*, save that if the nature of the word require any other pronunciation, it is noted with a little taile, as *ç*, and is called *Cerilla*, sounding almost as the Italian *z* in *Senza*, *Anzi*, or their *t* before *ia*

---

[1] So also the Latin edition of Oudin's work, published in Cologne, 1607.

[2] On some Greek evidence afforded by a letter of 1574, in which *Garçia* is transcribed Γαρτζία, and both the dental and the sibilant properties of *ç* are brought out clearly, see below, p. 174.

or *io*, as in *Prudentia*, *Congregatione*, or like the Hebrew . . . [*çade*], as our *ts* in English, but not altogether so strong upon the *t*, *Coraça*, *Coratsa*, *çarça*, *Tsartsa*, keeping the same sound of Cerilla, though not the same form: before *e* and *i* as *Cerca*, *Tserca*, *Cierto*, *Tsierto*."

Lewis Owen, *The Key of the Spanish Tongue* (London, 1605), says, p. 2: "Note that if *ç* be marked with a halfe circle, drawne under it in this sort, *ç*, then sound it as *s*, example: *cabeça*, a head, *moço*, a young man, *Pieza* [sic !], a peece: sound *cauesa*, *moso*, *piesa*."

John Minsheu, *The Guide into the Tongues* (London, 1617), says, in the Spanish part, which, like the later Dictionary and Grammar of 1623, was based upon Percivall's work: "*C* cum *a*, *o*, *u* pronuntiatur *ka*, *ko*, *ku*. Cum *e i*, *tse*, *tsi*, quando caudatum est vt (*ç*) pronunciatur *ça*, *ço*, *çu*, *tsa*, *tso*, *tsu*."

It is remarkable that, having in 1617 described the sound of *ç* as *ts*, Minsheu should in 1623 term it that of *ths*. From the later statement it would appear that *ç* had already acquired a marked interdental quality. On the whole, prior to 1623, the preponderance of evidence indicates the pronunciation of *ç* as a voiceless dental sibilant, and there is no sure indication of loss of the dental element, since the cases in which the sound was likened to that of *ss* or the French *ç* are few and probably inaccurate attempts to gauge the Spanish sibilant.

Z. As for *ç*, so for *z* the presence of a dental property is *a priori* made probable by the absorption or dissimilation of an etymological dental in such words as *plazo* from **placitum** (**placitum**–**plazedo*–**plazdo*–*plazo*), *rrezar* from **recitare**, *quinze* from **quindecim** (**quindecim** –**quindeze*–**quindze*–*quinze*).[1] If the dental element had not been present in the *ç* and *z*, the etymological dental could hardly cease to be written. The original dental and sibilant qualities of *z* standing for *ç* are both assured by its appearance for Latin *ts* in *assaz* = **ad satis.**

As *z* usually had a voiced source, or arose in an environment that favored voicing, it is to be expected that, as contrasted with *ç*, which did not arise under such circumstances, it represented the voiced sound corresponding to the voiceless one of *ç*. This correlation between *z* and *ç* is clear from the habit of the transcribed documents

[1] Cf. G. Baist, *Ztschr. f. rom. Phil.*, VI, 461.

of using a voiced sibilant for the one and a voiceless sibilant for the other. It is also made obvious in the statements of the grammarians and other writers, however untechnical and contradictory in its terms their language may be. About all the important evidence of this kind has been brought together by Cuervo (l.c., pp. 34 ff.). — Lebrija terms *z* the equivalent of the Hebrew *zayin;* Pedro de Alcalá and Alfonso's *Astronomía* transcribe Arabic *zāy* with it. Alessandri d' Urbino (l.c., p. 38): *z* = It. *z* of *azaria*, *zefiro*, *azimo*, *azurro*, etc. — Juan de Miranda (l.c.): *z* = Tuscan *zz* (i.e. supposedly the *zz* of *azzurro*). — *La parfaite méthode pour entendre, escrire et parler la langue espagnole* (1546): "*Z* se doit prononcer comme *ds*, non comme *s* ou double *ss*." — Doergank (l.c.): "*Z* effertur Germanico more et quasi *ds*, ut *aspreza*, vel ut Italice duo *zz*, ut *alteza*, *riqueza*, *dulceza*, *vezino*, quasi *altedsa*, *aspredsa*, *dulcedsa*, *vedsino*." — Avila y Çúñiga writes *Laninzeit* for *Kleinseite;* he also writes *Xuarezbalt* for *Schwarzwald.* In the first case his *z* means the sound of German (voiced?) *s* or even of a dental + *s*, since the combination *n* + *s* occurs here; in the second case his *z* means *ts*, the German sound in this instance, and the one normally represented in Spanish, before a consonant, by *z*. — Villalón, *Gramática castellana* ("Amberes," 1558; see Viñaza, *Bibl. histórica de la filología cast.*, col. 1119): "La *z* en el Castellano tiene la mesma pronunçiaçion que la *ç* con cedilla dos vezes pronunçiada." — Pedro de Madariaga, *Libro subtilissimo intitulado honra de Escriuanos* (Valencia, 1565; see Viñaza, col. 1134): "*Z* . . . sirue por la *ç* en todos los medios y finales. Cuando pronunciamos la *ç* en toda su fuerça y vigor se pone *ç*, como *çabala*, *çigueña*, y quando la *c* no trae su entero sonido, sino que viene con mayor suavidad y dulçura entonces echaremos zeta: *zagal*, *azibar*." Antonio de Torquemada, *Manual de Escriuientes* (before 1574): "La *C* y la *Z* se parecen casi tanto en el sonido de la pronunciacion, como la *B* y la *V*; de manera que muchas personas no saben diferenciarlas, y muchas vezes hallareis puesta la una por la otra, aunque las pronunciaciones son tan diferentes; porque la *C* se pronuncia con la lengua puesta entre los dientes de abajo y de arriba echando el huelgo y pronunciacion con fuerça; de manera que viene á ser muy diferente de la *Z*, la cual aunque se pronuncia casi de la mesma manera, y la lengua puesta en la mesma parte, no se pronuncia con

tanta fuerça, sino mas blanda y amorosamente. . . . De aquí viene que se pone esta letra muchas vezes en el fin de las diciones, porque puede pronunciarse con mas descuido : como dezimos *Vejez* y *Lopez*, lo que no podemos hazer con la *C*, y así nunca en el Romance Castellano se hallará puesta en el fin de ninguna dicion ó parte. Y cuando la *Z* está en medio de parte, tiene el sonido de manera que no suena sino la mitad de la *C*." It will be perceived that Torquemada defines *z* in terms directly the contrary of those of Villalón; and he comes nearer to the truth of the fact. *Z* seems to have less force than *ç*, because, being voiced, it is pronounced with the emission of a far less volume of breath. It is to be noticed, too, that Torquemada speaks of the use of *z* at the end of words, and that he seems to restrict the pronunciation described by him to its use in the medial position. — Juan López de Velasco, *Orthographia y Pronunciacion Castellana* (Burgos, 1582 ; see Viñaza, col. 1159, and Diez, *Gramm.*, I, p. 339 of French trans.), after describing the *ç* in such a way as to indicate a dental sibilant, proceeds to say : "si se esfuerça [el espíritu de la *ç*], y adelgaçandose sale con algun zumbido o siluo, conuiertese en la voz y sonido de la *z* que se forma arrimada á los dientes, pero no metida entre ellos . . . arrimada la parte anterior de la lengua á los dientes, no tan apegada como para la *ç*, sino de manera que quede passo para algun aliento o espiritu, que adelgaçado o con fuerça salga con alguna manera de zumbido, que es en lo que differe de la *ç*." Velasco indicates sufficiently well that voicing is the chief feature distinguishing *z* from *ç*. — Juan de la Cuesta, *Libro y Tratado para enseñar leer . . . todo Romance Castellano* (Alcalá, 1589 ; Viñaza, col. 898) : "La *ç* tiene el sonido rezio y doblado que la *z*, y se pronuncia allegando la lengua á los dientes. . . . La *z* como tengo dicho tiene su sonido mas floxo, y se pronuncia abriendo algo los dientes y metiendo la punta de la lengua entre ellos, que salga la lengua un poco fuera," etc. — Covarrubias, *Tesoro de la Lengua Castellana* (1611) : "La *C* [se profiere] con la lengua entre los dientes. . . . De aqui adelante se siguen las dicciones que se escriuen y pronuncian con cedilla *ç*, las quales no son tan fuertes de pronunciar como las que tienen la zeta *z*." — Miguel Sebastián, *Orthographia y Orthologia* (Saragossa, 1619 ; see Viñaza, col. 1212) : "La consonante *zeta* componen vnos de las *t* y *s*, los

mas de las *d* y *s*; pronunciase en el mesmo lugar que la *ç* algo mas blando," etc. — Ambrosio de Salazar (l.c.): "*Z* se pronuncia sacando un poco la punta de la lengua entre el paladar y los dientes de delante, en redondo, ayudandose del estómago y de la garganta, y que el viento salga haziendo un ruido escuro que haga cosquillas saliendo." It is the operation of voicing that Salazar means, when assigning a function to the throat and stomach in the pronunciation of *z*. — Juan de Luna, *Arte breve i compendiossa para aprender á leer . . . la lengua española* (London, 1623): "La *ç* con zedilla se pronuncia con la extremidad anterior de la lengua puesta entre los dientes. . . . La *z* se forma como la *ç* zedilla . . . mas de suerte que quede paso para algun aliento, o espiritu que adelgazado con fuerça salga con alguna manera de zumbido, que es en lo que difiere de la *ç* zedilla, por quien sirve en fin de las silabas o dicciones, donde la *ç* no puede estar." — Nicolás Dávila, *Compendio de la ortografia castellana* (Madrid, 1631; see Viñaza, col. 1232): "Mucha semejanza tiene la *ç* con la *z*: y se diferencia en que se pronuncia menos aguda y afectuosamente que ella, v.gr. en *caçorra* no es tan grande la *ç* como en *produze* la *z*." The English works not mentioned by Cuervo throw no light on the subject of *z*, with the exception of Owen's *Key of the Spanish Tongue*, which says: "This letter is sounded as in the English tongue, example: *luz*, light."

Making allowances for the inconsistencies of statement natural to all writers who, without scientific training, endeavor to frame definitions to suit the very elusive phonetic operations, one must recognize that the trend of the opinions of the grammarians assigns to *z* the value of a voiced dental stop + sibilant, to *ç* that of a voiceless dental stop + sibilant. This was *in general* the status with regard to the use of the two signs *z* and *ç*. But *z* was not always used apart from *ç* and distinguished by the possession of a voiced quality. In certain cases it represents sources that could not possibly have developed into a voiced sound, and in all such cases it stands at the end of a word, or at the end of a syllable before an initial consonant of the next syllable.

The cases are:

(1) Where, in loan-words, it answers to an Arabic *ṣād* or *sīn*, as in *rafez*, *habarraz*, *jazmin*, *mezquino*, *alcanz*.

(2) Where, in the final position, it answers to a Latin c (*e*, *i*) after a consonant, as in *esto*[*n*]*z* (*Cid*, v. 2692), *pez* (= piscem; *C. & E.*, p. 501, l. 15). In the fuller and the plural forms of these words a medial *ç* appears instead of the final *z*, as in *estonçe*, *peçes* (*Caza*, p. 79, l. 18; *Lab.*, no. 34, v. 22),[1] *alcança* (*Cid*, v. 998).

(3) In inceptive verbs, where, before a consonant, it is analogical to the *ç* of other parts of the verbs, as in *merezca*, *agradezco*.

As in all these cases it was phonetically impossible for a voiced sound to develop, the *z* must have denoted the *ts* sound of *peçes*, *estonçe*, and *alcança*. Such certainly is the inference to be drawn from the appearance of *sīn* in (v. 141 *b*) *agradeçco* of the *Poema de José*, which in this instance was betrayed into a phonetic rendering of the sound.

(4) More decisive still is the use of final *z* in *assaz*, where, by reason of its very origin, the sound can be only *ts*.

The regular use of *z* in all these cases can be due only to scribal custom, which forbade the writing of *ç* unless it were followed by a vowel in the same word.[2] Torquemada mentioned this custom, assigning his own explanation for it ("porque [*Z*] puede pronunciarse con mas descuido"), and Juan de Luna declared, in terms somewhat more explicit, that *z* was a substitute for *ç* in such cases, because *ç* could not be written ("por quien [i.e. *ç*] sirve en fin de las silabas o dicciones, donde la *ç* no puede estar.") If one bears in mind that the sign would no longer denote a sibilant sound if the cedilla were omitted under a *c* written at the end of a word or before a consonant, — an omission that might very easily occur and did occur, — it is not difficult to see why the scribes preferred to use a *z*, which would

---

[1] The *Estoria de los quatro doctores* has numerous cases of *peçes* and also the diminutive *peçezillos*; see p. 70, l. 11; 79, 17; 80, 27; 89, 22.

[2] The *Colección de poesías de un Cancionero inédito del siglo XV*, etc., ed. A. Pérez Gómez Nieva, Madrid, 1884, frequently writes *ç* at the end of a word (e.g. p. 5, l. 2, *luç*; p. 36, ll. 4, 8, 13, *asaç*; p. 68, l. 6, *paç* — cf. p. 57, l. 1, *paz*; p. 133, l. 5, *asaz*, etc.) and before *c* in inceptive verbs (cf. p. 16, l. 8, *padeçco*; p. 16, l. 9, *mereçco*; but also p. 77, l. 9, *padezco*, p. 77, l. 10, *merezco*). The use of *ny* for *ñ* points to an Aragonese scribe. The editor (p. 303) thinks the MS. to be of the 15th century; its confusion of the sibilants indicates a later date.

teçe)–guarez (= *guareçe*)–*prez*[1]; stz. 429, *paz–assaz–faz–agraz;* stz. 558, *uez–rafez–fallez–pez;* stz. 649, *uez–belmez–prez–rafez.*

Both the universally admitted works of Berceo and the *Alexandre* are careful to keep the various sibilants apart in their rhymes,[2] yet here, seemingly, *z* = *ts* is rhymed with *z* = *dz*. It is plain that in *pez* (= piscem), *assaz*, *rrafez* (*z* from Arabic *ṣād*), *contez* (= *conteçe*) and *guarez* (= *guareçe*), the final *ts* sound could not by any possibility change to the voiced *dz* sound, while, on the contrary, the *z* which medially meant *dz*, might, in the final position and in accordance with an *Auslautsgesetz*, become the voiceless *ts*, as it did in Old French and Provençal under similar circumstances. The rhymes are, then, all true, and all end in *ts*. It is, therefore, anything but certain that Horning's theory of a voiceless pronunciation for final *z* (*Lat. C*, pp. 95 f.) can be dismissed as untenable. Meyer-Lübke, who argues for its dismissal (*Gramm.*, I, § 568), has stressed too much the phonetic importance of the *Poema de José*.[3]

As the result of a general tendency towards the unvoicing of sibilants, *z* began, at least as early as the middle of the 16th century (see grammatical notes in Cuervo, l.c., pp. 39 ff.), to have the value *ts* in all positions, and, consequently, began to be hopelessly confused with *ç*. In Andalusia even the dental element was lost, so that *ç* and *z* were there both equivalent to voiceless *s* (Cuervo, *ibid.*). In Castile, however, it was not lost, but it was modified in this respect, that the tongue having fallen from the *t* position to one between the upper and lower teeth, the articulation was now that of an interdental sound.[4] The grammarians already mentioned speak

---

[1] The verse printed as the fourth line of this stanza belongs to the next stanza.

[2] That is, they do not rhyme *s* with *z* or *ç*, etc.

[3] See below, p. 158. The use of Hebrew *zayin* for final *z* must also be considered conventional.

[4] Joret, *Du C dans les langues romanes* (Paris, 1874), pp. 143, 153, and G. Rydberg, *Le développement de* facere *dans les langues romanes* (Paris, 1893), p. 24, hold that, at a certain period, *z* had lost its stop element and become identical in sound with voiced intervocalic *s*. Why, then, did the voiced *s* from *z* become later an interdental spirant, and the original voiced *s* remain a sibilant? There should have been no difference in their further development if *z* and *s* had a common value. Clearly the dental stop element never was lost by *z*. Vianna, *Revue*

of this interdental position of the tongue; thus, Torquemada (*circa* 1574): "La *c* se pronuncia con la lengua puesta entre los dientes de abajo y de arriba"; Velasco (1582): "El sonido y voz que la *ç* con cedilla haze, . . . se forma con la estremidad anterior de la lengua, casi mordida de los dientes"; Juan de la Cuesta (1589): "La *z* . . . se pronuncia abriendo algo los dientes y metiendo la punta de la lengua entre ellos, que salga la lengua un poco fuera"; Covarrubias (1611): "La *C* [se profiere] con la lengua entre los dientes"; Luna (1623): "La *ç* con zedilla se pronuncia con la extremidad anterior de la lengua puesta entre los dientes"; Minsheu (1623): "This *ç* . . . is sounded as in English *ths*."

The *s* of the combination *ths* must perforce have soon become assimilated entirely, and the result was the modern *þ* sound, thus described by Araujo (*Fonétika kasteĺana*, p. 47): "El sonido *z*, ekibalente aproksimadamente al *θ* griego, se produze poniendo la punta de la lengua suabemente mordida entre los dientes, un poko más saliente i algo más aderida a los inzisibos superiores ke para la *d*. . . . El sonido de esta frikatiba sorda interdentál es mui frekuente en kasteĺano," etc. Araujo, like other competent observers, finds the present sound to be a voiceless one, so that P. Foerster's testimony to its voiced nature, which apparently has misled both Horning (*Lat. C*, pp. 96 f.) and Meyer-Lübke (*Gramm.*, I, § 568), is surprising in the extreme.

A possible indication of the beginning of the interdental pronunciation of *z* is furnished by the spelling *juzgar*, which appears in some of our texts about a century before Torquemada describes the sound as uttered with the tongue between the teeth.

The *Misterio* (12th or 13th century) has *iugara* (p. 1, l. 16: *todo so seglo iugara*).
The *Vision* (14th century), p. 56, l. 21 *judgaras*, p. 60, l. 23 *judga*.
The *Disputa* (15th century) first shows the *z* in stz. XIV, v. 8 *juzgar*.[1]
The *C. & E.* has only *judgar* and its parts, 13 times (p. 460, l. 9; 471, 3; etc.).

---

hispanique, I, 10, appears to think that *ç* lost its dental character at a certain period. The Castilian *ç* hardly did so.

[1] Another MS. has *d* instead of *z*; see note in *Ztschr. f. rom. Phil.*, II, 67.

The *Caza* has only *d* in p. 13, l. 29 *judgaria.*

The *A. J. & B.* has only *z* in p. 344, l. 38 *juzgar*, p. 367, l. 19 *juzgueste*, p. 353, l. 5 *juzgado.*

The *Lab.* (end of 16th and beginning of 17th century) has only *z* in no. 51, v. 5 *juzgar*, v. 6 *juzgan*, no. 62, v. 8 *juzgara.*

Judicare, following the rules for a popular development, should have lost its *d*, as it has done in the *Misterio* form. The *d* seems, however, to have persisted down into the 15th century, and, doubtless, with a spirant pronunciation which it had acquired before the syncope of the following *i* (cf. Meyer-Lübke, *Gramm.*, I, § 538). In the 15th century, the *C. & E.* and the *Caza* still write *d*; but the *Disputa* and the *A. J. & B.* write *z*. As the spirant sound should not regularly be denoted by *d* when a stop consonant immediately follows, it is no wonder that the scribes of these two texts preferred to use *z*, which, along with its sibilant value, must have already possessed some of its modern interdental-spirant quality.[1]

II. S AND SS IN OLD SPANISH.

The modern Spanish knows no voiced sibilant, but there are reasons to believe that in the older language, as in the other Romance tongues, there were not only a voiced *z* and a voiceless *ç*, but also voiced and voiceless pronunciations of *s*. Graphically this distinction between the forms of *s* is not by any means so clearly marked as that between the forms of the dental sibilant (*ç*, *z*). Yet it is a fact that, contrary to the tendency of Spanish to simplify double consonants, *ss* is often written, where, for phonetic reasons and on the analogy of the other Romance languages, we expect the voiceless sound, and that *ss* does not appear where, on the same grounds, we expect the voiced sound. So *ss*, which, it must be

[1] More troublesome is Berceo's rhyming of *Madriz* with *raiz*, *nodriz* and *fiz* in the *San Millan*, stz. 19. But it seems reasonable to suppose that Berceo knew he was not giving a perfect rhyme here, since, in his time, a *z* from Arabic *ṭ* (*Madrid*, *Madriz* = **Maǧriṭ**) could not have been identical in value with the usual Old Spanish *z*. Cf. p. 64, note 3. Moreover, the place he means is not the modern city of Madrid. In *juzgar* can the influence of *juyzio* and *juez* be responsible for the *z*?

observed, is often written where it has no etymological justification, seems appropriated to the voiceless function, and this it usually fulfils in the intervocalic position, but sometimes also in the initial position and after certain consonants.

S plays a double part in script. At the beginning of a word, as well as after consonants, it naturally denotes the voiceless value of the sibilant. At the end of a word and before consonants within a word, it would be expected to have the same value, but there are reliable indications that in the latter case it was voiced before voiced consonants, and less reliable grammatical evidence that it was also voiced in the former case. Between vowels it appears to have both values, certainly the voiceless one, since it there very often represents, as it does in modern Spanish, the simplified *ss* of Latin. As it seems in the same position to supplant occasionally the Old Spanish *z* (cf. *Vision*, 14th century, *fasia*, *fasian*, *susyos*, *rrelusyan*,[1] *rriquesas*[2]; *Caza*, 15th century, *desir*, *faser*,[1] etc.), at a date when the latter was still voiced, but for some reason, dialectical or other, had lost its dental element, the just inference is that it was likewise voiced. Baist affirms, however, that Old Spanish *z* never became *s*, and that the cases of *s* for *z* in printed texts are due to misapprehension on the part of editors, who confounded the short, cursive *s* with the similarly shaped *z*. See *Caza*, p. 207; *Rom. Forschungen*, I, 143; *Ztschr. f. rom. Phil.*, VI, 170; *Grundriss f. rom. Phil.*, I, 705.[3]

Independent of this disputed appearance of *s* for *z*, we have the testimony of the *Altspanische Glossen*, which show *z* for Latin intervocalic *s* in no. 198 *kaza*. The scribe, who used *ss* for the voiceless sound in no. 255 *pressa* (= pre(he)nsam[4]), and *s* for the same sound in no. 258 *presas*, no. 114 *eleiso* (= illum ipsum), and no. 263 *asi*, may

---

[1] See above, p. 11. [2] See above, p. 16.

[3] Baist makes a slight modification of his statement in *Ztschr. f. rom. Phil.*, VI, 170. His opinion must be correct; if voiced *s* from *z* and the original voiced *s* were once confounded, they should not have developed in different ways at a later period. Cf. p. 97, note 4.

[4] Rather than *prēsam, which should have developed a voiced *s* in Old Spanish. The *ss* of the *Glossen* may be a mistake, as in Old Spanish this word and allied forms are generally written with one *s*; cf. *priso*, *prisieron*, *preso*, *Cid*, vv. 110, 333, 495, 540, 548, 586, 617, 1001, etc.

have been troubled as to how to express what was doubtless the voiced sibilant in the case of *casa*. So, despite the fact that he had already written no. 107 *cosas* with the etymological *s*, he now had recourse to *z*, which at least indicated a voiced sibilant.

Z is not again used for voiced *s* in our texts, whose principle of usage is best seen in the appended list of examples.

Débat (13th century): *ss* voiceless in *ssesso* 1 (= **sensum**), *ssi* 1, impf. sbj. *fuesse* 1 (but also *fuese* 1): *s* voiceless in *asi* 2, *pasada* 1, *fuese* 1: *s* doubtless voiced in *-oso* 3, *posada* 1.

Poème d'Amour: *ss* voiceless in the impf. sbj. *-iesse* 4 (but *-iese* 5), *sson* (after *y*) 1, *ressuçetarya* (by reason of the prefix *re-*, the sibilant was felt to be really initial, and therefore voiceless): *s* voiceless in *pasadas* 1, *fizies* 1 (= *fiziesse*, *s* final answering the purposes of *ss* medial): *s* doubtless voiced in *rrosas* 1.

Cid (14th century):

ss = Lat. *-ss-*:

sbj. terms. *-asse*, *-esse*, *-iesse* 105; the sole exception is v. 34 *abriese*.

espesso 2; exception, v. 81 *espeso*.

gruesso 7.

messo 4 (vv. 2832, 3186, 3286, 3289), *messe* 1 (v. 3290) = ***messare** from **metere**.

missa 17.

passar and parts 30, *traspassar* 1; exceptions, v. 401 *pasar*, v. 675 *pase*, v. 858 *paso*.

priessa 4, *apriessa* 18; exceptions, v. 587 *priesa* (in Vollmöller, but Menéndez Pidal has *priessa*), v. 137 *presurado*.

vassalo, *vassallo* 40; exception, v. 2214 *vasallo*.

ss = Lat. assimilated cons. + *s*:

adobasse 1 (v. 1700) = *adobarse*.

assento 1 (v. 2803) = ***adsedentare**.

assi 64 = **aeque sīc** (or rather **ac sic**; see *Archiv f. lat. Lexikographie*, IV, 269); exceptions *asi* 9 (vv. 32, 375, 844, 902, 972, 1468, 2024, 2074, 2132).

assiniestro 2 (vv. 2691, 2694).[1]
atrauessauan 1 (v. 1544), *trauiesso* 1 (v. 3650) = **traversum.**
cosso 1 (v. 1592) = **cursum.**
esso, desso, essora, aquesso 80; exceptions, v. 800 *esos*, v. 3663 (3664 in Menéndez Pidal) *ẹsora.*
muesso 1 (v. 1032) = **morsum.**
tornasse 1 (v. 3659) = **tornarse.**

ss = Lat. initial *s*. Here, as the words concerned usually follow words terminating in a vowel, the question of sentence phonetics is concerned. To indicate that the sibilant, though now practically intervocalic, still retains its voiceless quality, resort was had to the device of doubling the *s*. The same words are, however, usually written with a single *s*.
sseñor 1 (v. 2930), after *a*.
sser 1 (1667), after *a*; *ssea* 1 (v. 132), after *que*.
ssi 3 (v. 1575) after *o*, (v. 3208) after *de*, (v. 3566) after *e*.
ssu 2 (v. 2215) after *a*, (v. 3062) after *e*; *sso* 1 (v. 3220) after *a*.

For the same reason
ss = initial *s* become graphically medial:
fuesse 1 (v. 3379) = *fue se.*
vasse 1 (v. 1384) = *va se.*

ss after *n* = original *s* after *n*:
Alfonsso occurs 77 times and always with *ss*.
Anssarera 2 (vv. 2657, 2689).
canssados 1 (v. 2745).
conssagrar 1 (v. 1906).
conssigra 1 (v. 1465).
consseio, consseiar 15; but also frequently with *s*, as in vv. 85, 122, 382, 438, 632, etc.
cunplansse 1 (v. 3072).
despenssa 1 (v. 258).

---

[1] This may be regarded simply as an instance of *s* doubled in the initial position, *a ssiniestro.*

ensellados 1 (v. 2145); but cf. v. 317 *ensellar*, v. 1064 *ensellados*, v. 1585 *ensiellan.*

espidiensse 1 (v. 1914).

firiensse 2 (vv. 3625, 3672).

fonssado 2 (vv. 764, 926).

menssaie, *menssaieros* 6 (vv. 1188, 1453, 1477, 2600, 2885, 1903); exceptions, vv. 627, 975, 1834 *mensaie.* This may be considered a case of Lat. *ss* retained after an inserted *n.*

penssar and parts 49; exceptions, vv. 380, 537 *pensemos*, v. 2531 *pensad*, v. 1426 *penso.*

toman sse 1 (v. 1825); but cf. v. 1839 *cuedan se.*

tornansse 1 (v. 1391); but cf. v. 1514 *tornanse.*

vansse 4 (vv. 294, 403, 542, 2775).

ventanssen 1 (v. 151).

In v. 2731 *enssienplos*, the *ssi* probably represents the palatal sound *š*, the word being usually written *exemplo* in our Old Spanish texts; see p. 118.[1]

ss after *l* = original *s* after *l*:

falsso, *falssedad*, *falssar*, and parts 8 (vv. 713, 728, 2391, 2666, 3387, 3675, 3678, 3680); but cf. v. 342 *falso.*

That it should be found necessary to double the *s* after *n* must, at first sight, seem surprising, since the voiceless sound of the sibilant might be taken for granted after a consonant. But, as *s* after *n* was likely to become dental, and in some cases even gave way to a written *ç*, perhaps the *s* was doubled in these other cases by way of a protest against any such change, either phonetically or graphically. Again, it is possible that *s* could voice after certain consonants and especially after *n*, which at first sight would seem to have allowed the development of *z* as well as *ç* immediately after it.[2] In this event the doubling of the *s* would denote a tendency to resist the voicing.[3]

---

[1] The *Estoria de los quatro doctores* has the form *ensiemplo;* see p. 373, 26; 385, 38; 386, 12.

[2] See above, pp. 29, 30.

[3] For voiced and voiceless *s* after *n*, cf. Eng. *immense*, *intense*, and *lens*, *men's.* In the one case the sound is often *nts*, in the other *ndz.*

For *ss* after *l* either explanation may obtain, especially the first, since, in certain Italian forms of this very word, the *s* became dental; see p. 170.[1]

These are the most constant cases of *ss*. *Ss* appears in *dessi* 1 (v. 2157), as against *desi* 9 (vv. 742, 867, 1109, 1275, 1383, 1667, 2640, 3110, 3612) and in *ayusso* 1 (v. 1161), as against *ayuso*, *yuso* 13 (446, 501, 546, 551, 577, 589, 762, 781, 858, 992, 1002, 1724, 2453). Where the *ss* became final, it was simplified, as in v. 1559 *apres* = *apresso* and in the shortened impf. sbj. (*pudies* for *pudiesse*, etc., vv. 309, 329, 1252, 1294, 1471, 2677, 2678, 2753, 3295, 3517).

The simple *s* appears regularly in the descendants of Latin words with intervocalic *s*; e.g. *casa*, *cosa*, *osar*, *posar*, *posada*, *casar*, *acusado*, *-oso* 25, *besar*, etc.

Vision. This manuscript, though written in the same century as that of the *Cid*, has no *ss*, but shows only the simplified *s* in *asy*, *otrosy*, *pasados*, *pasauan*, *gruesas*, *ese*, *eso*, *fuesa* (= **fossam**), sbj. *-ase*, *-iese*, *-ise*. The original intervocalic *s* is seen in *-oso*.

Disputa (15th century):

ss: *passada* 1 (but *paso* 1, *pasaste* 1, *pasar* 1).
essa 2.
espesso 1.
asseo 1 (= * **assedare**).
s = original *ss*: sbj. *-iese* 1.
s = original intervocalic *s*: *-oso* 1.

Steinbuch:

ss = original *ss* or assimilated cons. + *s*:
assi 67, but *asimismo* 1 (p. 6, l. 21).
esse, *esso* 8, but *dese* 1 (p. 24, l. 20).
assentado 1 (p. 13, l. 16).
assechanças 1 (p. 33, l. 7).
passa 1 (p. 4, l. 10).
passion 2 (pp. 12, 24; 17, 28).
sbj. *-asse*, *-esse*, *-iesse* 9.
crisopasso 2 (pp. 15, 3; 15, 5) = * **chrisopassum**, χρυσόπρασος.

[1] On Old French *z* (= *ts*) for *s* after *l*, see reference given on p. 69, note.

ss = *s* initial become intervocalic:

assi (= *a si*) 9, but *asi* 1 (p. 4, l. 1).

leesse (= *lee se*) 1, *dizesse* 2, *fortificasse* 1, *creesse* 1, *afirmasse* 1; but usually in such script combinations the *s* remains single, as in *dizese* 11, *mortifficase* 1, *creese* 3, *afirmase* 3, etc.

s = original intervocalic *s* in *-oso* 27.

C. & E.:

ss = original *ss* or assimilated cons. + *s*:

assi 6, but usually *asi* 153.

confessor 1 (p. 491, l. 25), *confessar* 1 (p. 492, l. 2), *confiessan* 1 (p. 492, l. 1); but 491, l. 25 *confesardes.*

esso 8, but *eso* 5.

escasso (* **excarpsum**) 1 (p. 457, l. 5).

missa 2.

ossos (= **ursos**) 1 (p. 496, l. 1).

sesso (**sensum**) 1 (p. 499, l. 19); but cf. 499, l. 15 *seso.*

passar, etc. 15; but p. 484, l. 24 *pasar.*

priessa 1 (p. 472, l. 25).

yesso 1 (= **gypsum**) 1 (p. 513, l. 8).

sbj. *-asse*, *-esse*, *-iesse* 86, but *-ase*, *-ese*, *-iese* 7.

ss = *s* initial become medial:

intervocalic — *desseruiçio* 1 (p. 511, l. 32).
fuesse 3.
trabajasse 1.

after *n* — *castigansse* 1 (p. 505, l. 23); but cf. p. 505, l. 22 *gradanse.*

ss = Latin intervocalic *s* appears very irregularly in *possadas* 1 (p. 485, l. 27), which is probably a mistake, in *quinquagessimo* 1 (p. 521, l. 15), which probably shows the influence of **-issimus**, and in *susso* (= **sūsum**) 1 (p. 492, l. 27) as opposed to *suso* 3.

In *complission* 3, *complision* 2, the sibilant probably means *š* from Lat. *x*.

Asi 153, *asento* 1 (p. 443, l. 20), *asaz* 8 and *vasallo* 4 show *ss* simplified to *s*.

Among the many examples of *s* = Latin intervocalic *s*, is the termination *-oso* 75.

Caza:

ss = Lat. *ss* or assimilated cons. + *s*:

apriessa 2 (p. 22, ll. 6, 7); but p. 7, l. 27 *priesa.*

assaz 1 (p. 14, l. 22); but p. 19, l. 28 and p. 45, l. 25 *asaz.*

assentare 1 (p. 20, l. 10); but *asentar*, etc. 9.

assi 17; but *asi* 33.

espesso 3.

esso, esse 14; but *eso, ese* 18.

passar, etc. 15; but *pasar*, etc. 52.

pesso 1 (p. 59, l. 11); correct if = **pensum**, but a mistake if = ***pēsum.**

vesso (i.e. *huesso* = **ossum**) 1 (p. 9, l. 21).

impf. sbj. termination 34; but *s* 9.

ss = *s* initial become medial:

ayuntasse 1 (p. 88, l. 19).

dessi (= *de* + *si*) 1 (p. 16, l. 21).

otrossi 1 (p. 59, l. 22); but otherwise *otrosi.*

ss after *n* = original *s* after *n*:

penssar 1 (p. 17, l. 15); but *pensar* 4, *Alfonso* 13, etc.

The original *ss* has been simplified in *mesar* 13, *reviesa* 1 (p. 32, l. 30), *gruesos* 1 (p. 9, l. 28), *pasaros* 1 (p. 60, l. 10), as well as in the numerous cases already noted. The *s* of *pasaros* may stand for *š*. Latin intervocalic *s* appears constantly as *s* in *-oso* 31, and in many other words. As against p. 23, l. 9; 24, l. 25; 65, l. 21 *coser* and p. 25, l. 8 *descosidos*, there appears p. 15, l. 23 *descozer.* If the last form is not an editorial mistake, its *z* should indicate a voiced *s* for the other forms. The source of the verb is ***cosuere,** ***cosere.**

A. J. & B.:

ss only in *assi* 1 (p. 376, l. 45) as against *asy* 276, and in *ssin* 1 (p. 368, l. 21, but in the same line *syn*).

Lab. (16th or early 17th century): this text, despite its lateness, displays a constant use of *ss* = Lat. *ss* or assimilated cons. + *s*: *assechanças* 1; *assegura* 3, *assegurado* 1; *assi* 6; *assiste* 1; *assombre* 1; *assomo* 1; *assar* 1 (= **arsare, assare**); *assentado* 1; *cessar* 2; *comission* 1; *confessar confession* 8; *cosso* (= **cursum**) 2 (no. 12, v. 30;

no. 40, v. 52); *cossario* 1; *dissimular* 2; *esso esse essotro* 23; *espesso* 1; *essencia* 1; *excesso* 1, *excessiuo* 1; *huesso* 1; *impossible* 3; *-issimo* 3; *missa* 2; *osso* (= ursum) 2; *passar*, etc. 28, *passear*, etc. 3; *passion* 8; *possession* 3; *promessa* 2; *sucesso sucessor* 4; *sossegados* 1 (no. 32, v. 6), but *sosiego* 2 (no. 43, v. 42; no. 52, v. 23); impf. sbj. termination 16.

s instead of *ss* appears in no. 55, v. 15 *atrauesadas* and in no. 58, v. 17 *Narcisa*. The typical example of *s* = Latin intervocalic *s* is *-oso* 97. In *desseo dessear* 21, if the etymon is desiderium and not dissidium (Diez),[1] the *ss* may be due to the apparent prefix *de*, by reason of which the sibilant may have received the treatment of initial *s* become intervocalic.

CONCLUSION: Recapitulating, we find that throughout the texts *ss* appears only where it must indicate the voiceless sibilant: viz., —

(1) for Latin *ss*:

(2) for Latin assimilated cons. + *s*:

(3) for an initial *s* become intervocalic (α) in derivatives, as *desseruiçio*, (β) in a word-group written as a unit, as *fuesse* = *fue se*, (γ) in a word-group whose members are kept apart graphically, as *a ssenor*:

(4) for *s* after *n*, *l*, as *Alfonsso*, *falsso*.

Except in extremely rare instances, all erroneous, *ss* does not appear for a Latin intervocalic *s*, which regularly continues single in such a common and characteristic case as that of the suffix *-oso*.

Direct proof of the voicing of Old Spanish intervocalic *s* is provided by the Hebrew-Spanish custom of representing it by *zayin* and *z*,[2] and by the statements of grammarians. A number of these statements have been brought together by Cuervo (l.c., pp. 48 ff.), out of Lebrija, *Ortografia* (1517), Cascales, *Cartas filológicas* (1627), Valdés, *Diálogo de la lengua* (*circa* 1540), and the various works excerpted by Viñaza (*Biblioteca histórica de la filología castellana*, Madrid, 1893). Thus Lebrija: "Acontece a las letras ser floxas, o apretadas, i por

[1] On the arguments for and against dissidium, see references in Körting, *Wörterb.*, s.v. desiderium. Cf. Gröber's *Grundriss*, I, p. 704.

[2] See pp. 171 ff.

consiguiente sonar poco o mucho: como la *R*, i la *S*: porque en comienço de la palabra suenan dobladas, o apretadas: como diziendo, *Rei*, *Roma*, *Sabio*, *Señor*. Esso mesmo en medio de la palabra suenan mucho si la silaba precedente acaba en consonante, i la siguiente comiença en una dellas: como diziendo, *Enrique*, *honrado*, *bolsa*, *ansar*. . . . Pero si la silaba precedente acaba en vocal, la *R*, o la *S*, en que comiença la silaba siguiente, suena poco: como diziendo, *vara*, *para*, *vaso*, *peso*. Pero si suenan apretadas, doblarse an en medio de la palabra: como diziendo, *amassa*, *passa*, *carro*, *jarro*. . . . I acontece que una mesma palabra, i pronunciada en una mesma manera, se puede escrevir a las vezes con una *S* senzilla, a las vezes con doblada *S*: como diziendo *fuese*, que es preterito de *yo fue*, en el indicativo; i *fuesse* de *fue* en el optativo, i subyuntivo: como si dizes: *Fuese el mensagero;* o diziendo, *Si fuesse venido el mensajero:* porque el primero *fuese* es compuesto de *fue*, i *se*, i porque la *S* está en comienço de palabra suena como doblada; el segundo *fuesse* es una palabra, i para sonar apretada, escrivese con dos *SS*." So also Cascales: "La *r* y la *s* en principio de parte suena tanto como dos en medio, como *ramo*, *sabio*, *parra*, *massa*. Una en medio tiene sonido mas tenue, y dos mas fuerte, como *marquesa*, *condessa*, *casa*, *escassa*. Pero si la *r* o la *s* en medio de parte se ponen tras de alguna consonante, suena tanto senzilla como si fuera doble." A remarkable note, in view of the value which it confers upon final *s*, is that of Flórez in his *Doctrina christiana del Ermitaño y Niño*, Valladolid, 1552 (quoted by Viñaza, col. 2075, and Cuervo, p. 49): "La *r* y la *s* larga tienen una propiedad, assi en romance como en latin: que al principio de la parte tienen toda su fuerça. Dezimos *rato*, *sano*. . . . Empero en medio de parte, si estan entre dos vocales, o al fin de parte: pierden el medio sonido. Dezimos *teresa*, *tisera*, *dios*, *señor*. Aquellas *.r.* y *.s.* que estan en medio y al fin de las partes: suenan agora medio sonido. Mas si quieren que tengan su sonido entero y rezio: es necessario ponellas dobladas. Dezimos *tierra*, *tiessa*. . . . Empero si antes de la *.r.* o *.s.* esta en la misma parte alguna consonante que sea herida: y despues vocal a quien hiera la *.r.* o la *.s.* entonces ternan toda su fuerça. Dezimos *farsa*, *balsa*, *falsa*, *bolsa*, *bosra*, *onra*. . . . Al fin de parte siempre tienen medio sonido." A similar statement with regard to final *s* is made

by R. Percyuall, *Bibliotheca Hispanica* (London, 1591): "*S*, if he be single in the midst of a word, or if he be in the end of a word, is pronounced with a milde sound betweene *s* and *z*, as the French do in *chose*, *maison*, or we in English in *pleasure*, *desire*, so in Spanish *Cosa*, *Uso*, *Dios*, *Palabras*. But in the beginning of a word, or if he be double in the middle, or come before a consonant, he keepeth the sound which we give him in English, in *Sane*, *Passed*, *Dust*, *Señor*, *Huesso*, *Hasta*."

As it was probably contrary to the genius of Old Spanish to have voiced consonantal sounds in the final position (i.e. the absolute *Auslaut*), it is hard to conceive of the final *s* as always voiced. A *liaison* may have existed in Old Spanish, as now in French and Portuguese, and a few grammarians, noticing the voiced sound of *s* due to its linking with the initial vowel of the next word, may have proceeded to describe final *s* in those general and erroneous terms.[1]

Although the early grammarians are silent on the point, it seems likely that the Old Spanish *s* was also voiced before voiced consonants. The *Obligacion de los coraçones*, a Hebrew-Spanish text of the beginning of the 17th century (see Cuervo, l.c., p. 52), employs *zayin* for *s* so situated, and Foulché-Delbosc finds that *zayin* is still so employed by the Spanish Jews in Turkey.[2] Storm, a most acute observer and able phonetician, discovers the same feature in the standard modern Spanish. "In Rom und Süditalien wird übrigens *s* immer hart gesprochen, ausgenommen vor weichen Konsonanten: *sdegno*, *svelto*, *slavo* (slawisch), *bisbiglio*, *sdrucciolo*; doch mag auch hier das *s* nur halb, in seinem letzten Teile stimmhaft sein, ungefähr wie das norddeutsche anlautende *s*, holländische *z* nach Sweet oft lautet. Im Spanischen habe ich genau dieselbe Regel gefunden wie im Süditalienischen; *cvsa*, und dieselbe Ausnahme; *eslavo*, *esbelto*, wo *s* entschieden nur halb stimmhaft ist" (*Eng. Phil.*, 2d ed., p. 49). As Schuchardt (*Ztschr. f. rom. Phil.*, V, 307) doubted the existence of this pronunciation otherwise than as a distinct Gallicism, Storm was obliged to reply (*Eng. Phil.*, *ibid.*): "Ich glaube wirklich die besagte

---

[1] How far has its association with *r*, which is seen in the two Spanish grammarians, influenced their consideration of final *s*?

[2] Cf. below, p. 172.

Aussprache in Madrid von geborenen Madrileños gehört zu haben, auch in Fällen wie *rasgo, riesgo;* noch mehr vielleicht bei Aragoniern, was in der That eine Annäherung ans Französische sein mag." . . . "Dagegen," he continues, "geht *s* vor *d* gewöhnlich in einen sonderbaren Laut über, der bald wie ein Zwischenlaut von *s* und *r*, bald wie reines dentales *r* lautet, wie in *desde* (frz. *dès*), *desden* (frz. *dédain*, it. *disdegno*, *sdegno*), *dos dias:* vor *r* wird er assimiliert und verschlungen: *do'reales*, spr. *dorreáles* (schon das anlautende *r* lautet wie *rr*), statt *dos reales.* Dieser *r*-Laut ist somit ein Ersatz des reinen tönenden *s*, welches die Sprache verloren hat, denn es scheint aus arabischen Transcriptionen hervorzugehen, dass das Spanische noch im 16. Jahrhundert das tönende *s* zwischen Vokalen besass,[1] wie auch *j* damals wie frz. *j* lautete: beide Laute sind noch im Catalanischen und Portugiesischen bewahrt." Araujo (*Fonétika kastelana*, p. 54) avouches the voicing before the voiced consonants: "Kuando la *s* ortográfika ba delante de alguna konsonante sonora, se kontajia más o menos de su sonoridád, dejando en mayór o menór grado de ser afónika, i disminuye o pierde la lengua su konkabidád, deszendiendo de su posizión; . . . ante *r* i ante *g* es donde apareze este sonido más distintamente, legando kasi a konfundirse kon el de la *j* franzesa, mientras ke en los demás, espezialmente ante *b* i *d*, se azerka más bien a la *z* franzesa."

The precise nature of the Old Spanish *s*, voiced or voiceless, with respect to its place of articulation, is worthy of attention. Schuchardt (*Ztschr. f. rom. Phil.*, V, 306) and Storm (*Eng. Phil.*, 2d ed., p. 70)

---

[1] Arabic transcription may, as Storm declares, give evidence of the voiced intervocalic *s*, but it is noticeable that the most important *aljamiado* document as yet published, the *Poema de José*, does not distinguish between voiced and voiceless *s*, representing both indifferently by *šīn*, which is properly voiceless. As already stated, Hebrew transcription does give the requisite evidence. Storm's further remark as to the rise and decline of the voiced intervocalic *s* probably does not represent the actual state of the facts; see *Eng. Phil.*, p. 49, note 2: "Wenn dem so ist [i.e. if intervocalic *s* was voiced], so beruht dies auf Vordringen nordspanischer (katalanischer) Aussprache; im Süden mag sich der alte Laut bewahrt und später den neuen wieder zurückgedrängt haben." The voiced sound was a regular development in Castilian, and disappeared in the case of *s* as in that of *j*, *g* (*e*, *i*).

describe the modern Spanish *s* as cacuminal. So does A. R. Gonçalves Vianna, who brings forward evidence that the Old Spanish *s* was, by reason of its cacuminal nature, so like the palatal *ṡ* that the Moors could not distinguish between the two sounds and gave to the *s*, as well as to the *x* (= *ṡ*), the value of their own *šīn*, the sign by which both Old Spanish *x* and *s* are represented in the *aljamiado Poema de José*.[1] Vianna says (*Revista lusitana*, II, 334 ff.): "No dialecto literario e na maioria dos populares castelhanos, exceptuando os andaluzes e aínda talvez uma parte dos estremenhos, o *s* vale também por *s* subcacuminal, aspirado ou não (?).[2] . . . Isto explica o facto, que pareceria estranho, de Jil Vicente figurar a pronuncia castelhana de uma moura, representando sempre o *s* por *x*, cuando é certo que para os mouros, árabes ou berberes, o *s* é, e sempre foi, uma articulação conhecida, um som familiar, acrescendo que os primeiros teem não um, mas dois *ss* distintos, cualquer deles todavía muito mais semelhante ao *s* usual do sul do reino actualmente, do que ao *ẋ* [*šīn*]: é também natural que a eleição de um dos dois para figurar o *ç* procedesse da vogal que acompanhava êste. Na realidade aquele *ṣ*, português ou castelhano, subcacuminal com respeito ao órgão passivo, e reverso em relação ao orgão activo, deveria ser substituido pelo *ẋ* logo que um mouro quisesse manter a distinção entre *ç* e *ṣ*, ou porque ao ouvido êste último lhe soasse daquele modo por êrro de audição, ou porque a tentativa de o reproduzir com exactidão lhe fôsse mal sucedida. E como êsse mau éxito désse motivo aos motejos de quem o escutava, aproveitou o poeta êste elemento cómico — recurso muito frecuente em peças teatrais de todos os tempos e nações, o de ridiculizar a pronuncia de estranjeiros."[3] The verses of Gil Vicente referred to occur in the *Côrtes de Júpiter*.

Moura. Mi no xaber que exto extar,
Mi no xaber que exto xer,
Mi no xaber onde andar, etc.

---

[1] See pp. 166 ff. [2] The query is Vianna's.

[3] Vianna presents this same evidence in the essay *Deux faits de phonologie historique portugaise; Mémoire présenté à la 10e session du Congrès International des Orientalistes* (Lisbon, 1892); cf. also the same writer in *Romania*, XII, 47, 52, Cornu in *Grundriss*, I, 766, and Lang in *Ztschr. f. rom. Phil.*, XX, 144.

The modern Castilian *s* is somewhat differently characterized by F. Wulff (*Un chapitre de phonétique andalouse*, in the *Recueil de mémoires philologiques présenté à M. Gaston Paris*, etc., Stockholm, 1889, p. 247), as approaching the *s* "prédorsale extraalvéolaire fricative convexe sourde," and by Araujo (l.c., p. 53), as alveolar. R. Lenz (*Ztschr. f. rom. Phil.*, XVII, 189) terms it a "stimmloser meist apicosupraalveolarer Reibelaut."

The date at which the intervocalic *s* began to unvoice may be roughly placed at the middle of the 16th century. Investigating rhymes, Cuervo (p. 51) has found that, up to that time, words such as *casa* and *passa*, *beso* and *huesso* were not rhymed together. Thenceforward, however, the verse distinction between *s* and *ss* gradually ceased to be observed, until for Cervantes, Góngora, and Lope de Vega it cannot be said to exist at all. The intervocalic sound being now uniform, the necessity for writing *ss* disappeared, so that, in our days, the doubling of the letter does not occur.

An examination of the rhymes in the works of Berceo, the *Appollonio*, and the *Cantares* of the Archpriest of Hita shows that medial *s* and medial *ss* never rhyme together in Old Spanish. Moreover, neither rhymes with *ç* or *z*. Voiceless final *s* rhymes only with itself. The following list is exhaustive of the *Vida de Sancto Domingo*, the *Vida de Sant Millan*, the *Sacrifiçio de la Misa*, the *Martyrio de Sant Laurençio*, the *Loores de Nuestra Sennora*, the *Signos que aparesceran ante del juiçio*, the *Milagros de Nuestra Sennora*, the *Duelo que hizo la Virgen Maria*, the *Vida de Sancta Oria*, the *Himnos*, the *Alexandre*, the *Cantares* of the Archpriest of Hita, and the *Appollonio*, — all in Vol. LVII of the *Biblioteca de autores españoles*.

S.

The suffix *-oso* from the Latin **-osum** rhymes with itself in: *S. Domingo*, stzs. 441, 586, 602; *S. Millan*, stzs. 42, 103, 159, 211, 354; *Signos*, stz. 27; *Milagros*, stzs. 6, 436; *Duelo*, stz. 65; *Alexandre*, stzs. 988, 1662; *Appollonio*, stz. 342; *Hita*, stzs. 301, 431, 532, 554, 599, 601, 754, 793, 1054, 1146, 1401. It rhymes with the verb *oso* (from **auso**) in *Hita*, 151. With *esposo* (from Vulgar Latin ***sposum**) or *poso* (cf. **pausare**) in *S. Domingo*, 128, 268; *Duelo*, 109; *Himnos*, p. 144, last stanza; *Alexandre*, 149, 1524, 1788.

Similarly the feminine *-osa* rhymes with itself in *S. Domingo*, 319; *S. Millan*, 300, 308; *Sacrifiçio*, 90; *Loores*, 132; *Milagros*, 25, 169, 432; *S. Oria*, 130; *Alexandre*, 340; *Hita*, 1479, 1615, 1633, 1637, 1638, 1639, 1657. With one or more of the words *cosa* (**causam**), *posa* (**pausam**), *prosa* (**prosam**), *osa* (from *osar*), *esposa*, *rosa* (**rosam**), *glosa* (*** glosam**), *losa* (stem **laus-**, see Körting, no. 4715) in *S. Domingo*, 1, 115, 234, 410, 656, 673, 708; *S. Millan*, 223, 251, 359, 486; *Sacrifiçio*, 45, 129; *Milagros*, 46, 63, 114, 131, 206, 302, 351, 391, 406, 423, 457, 497, 533, 572, 617, 620, 679, 697, 702, 754, 775, 819, 831, 864 (in 351, *cossa* is erroneous for *cosa*); *Duelos*, 10 (*prossa* erroneous for *prosa*); *Sancta Oria*, 28, 120; *Alexandre*, 319, 384, 942, 1794, 1846, 2438; *Appollonio*, 249; *Hita*, 159, 221, 310, 471, 555, 618, 670, 802, 1164, 1354, 1574, 1605, 1609, 1635, 1636.

Other rhymes in *-osa* (not the suffix) are:

Loores, 204 *cosa*, *rosa*, *cosa*, *esposa*.

Hita, 901 *losa*, *glosa*, *rosa*, *raposa*;

1001 *rosa*, *desposa*.

Rhymes in *-eso* where Latin or Vulgar Latin had intervocalic *s*:

Sacrifiçio, 209 *beso* (**basium**), *apreso* (**ad + prehensum**, V. L. **ad + *prēsum**), *seso* (V. L. ***sēsum for sensum**), *preso*.

S. Laurençio, 76 *preso*, *seso*, *apreso*, *queso* (**caseum**).

Alexandre, 404 *seso*, *queso*, *apreso*, *peso* (V. L. ***pēsum for pensum**);

532 *peso*, *seso*, *preso*, *queso*;

643 *seso* (misplaced in the verse), *apreso* (miswritten *apriso*), *peso*, *preso*;

1240 *peso*, *peso*, *preso*, *seso*.

Hita, 545 *preso*, *queso*, *apreso*, *seso*;

909 *apreso*, *seso*, *represo*, *beso*;

1347 *queso*, *salpreso*, *peso*, *apreso*.

-esa(s) appears in

Hita, 288 *defesa*, *pesa*, *sopesa*, *besa*;

1052 *mesa*, *pesa*, *apresa*, *sospesa*;

1195 *pesas*, *mesas*, *artesas*, *presas*;

1248 *salpresa*, *mesa*, *pesa*, *besa*;

1444 *pesas*, *presas*, *apresas*, *sopesas*;

1674 *pesa*, *Teresa*, *Oropesa*, *mesa*.

-ese(s) in

S. Millan, 414 *alaveses*, *pamploneses*, *corteses*, *meses*.

Hita, 1198 *reses*, *ingleses*, *torneses*, *meses*.

In all but *reses*, the source is Vulgar Latin ***-esem for -ensem**, which

appeared as a suffix in all but mensem, * mesem. *Reses* is the plural of *res* ('head of cattle').

-iso, where (Vulgar) Latin had intervocalic *s*, appears in

S. Domingo, 219 *paradiso, quiso, priso, depiso.*
S. Millan, 391 *priso, quiso, miso, riso;*
460 *parayso, promiso, anviso, miso.*
Loores, 61 *quiso, repiso, priso, riso.*
Milagros, 14 *paraiso, miso, anviso, viso.*
774 *paraiso* (miswritten with *ss*), *miso, viso, repiso.*
Alexandre, 199 *priso, quiso, miso, repiso;*
1377 *quiso, priso, miso, paraiso;*
1442 *conquiso, miso, riso, quiso;*
1553 *parayso, miso, quiso, promiso.*
Appollonio, 592 *repiso, miso, quiso.*
Hita, 67 *priso, repiso, riso, quiso;*
163 *paraiso, aliso, priso, enviso;*
1538 *Paraiso, quiso, priso, riso;*
1629 *paraiso, quiso, priso.*

In *S. Laurençio* 59 the rhymes are *Narçiso, viso, parayso, riso; Narçiso* being explained in 55 as *un noble senador.* The source appears to be the Latin **Narcissus** with **ss**. The author seems, therefore, to have taken liberties with a purely learned word in rhyming it with other words having intervocalic *s*.

-isa is found in

S. Millan, 9 *ambisa, guisa, divisa, aguisa.*
S. Oria, 118 *guisa, frisa, camisa, Pisa.*
Alexandre, 79 *guisa, camisa, Pisa, guisa.*
Appollonio, 349 *Dionisa, guisa, grisa, camisa;*
445 *Dionisa, guisa, camisa.*
Hita, 425 *guisa, lisa, prisa, guisa;*
986 *guisa, lisa, devisa, pisa.*

All these have intervocalic *s* in the Latin, Germanic or Celtic sources.

Rhymes in *-uso* based upon intervocalic Latin *s* are

S. Domingo, 662 *suso, fuso, puso, uso.*
Loores, 37 *puso, ayuso, empuso, confuso.*
Hita, 353 *uso, puso, propuso, suso;*
402 *puso, suso, yuso, uso;*
446 *suso, uso, escuso, compuso;*
941 *puso, ayuso, uso.*

With *-usa* there are found

Hita, 354 *acusa*, *usa*, *marfusa*, *escusa*;
493 *usa*, *escusa*, *acusa*, *musa*.

The etymology of *marfusa* is not clear. Connection with *markhūç* (see Dozy and Engelmann, p. 302) is unlikely, as *ṣad* should not give a Spanish *s*.

With *-asa(s)*.

Alexandre, 1961 *casas*, *basas*, *brasas*, *rasas*.

Hita, 1324 *casa*, *blasa*, *asa* (Vulgar Latin *asam for ansam), *rasa*.

SS.

As a result of a tendency of Spanish to simplify double consonants already manifest, or of the eccentricities of editors, *ss* is not always written in our texts where etymologically it should appear.

The following is the state of affairs for the subjunctive imperfect endings *-asse*, *-iesse*:

-asse.

Sacrifiçio, 243 *-assen* 4 times.

Loores, 131 *-assen* 3, *-asen* 1.

Duelo, 111 *-asse* 3, *-ase* 1.
201, *-asse* 2, *-ase* 2.

Appollonio 221, *-ase* 4.
504 *-asse* 3, *-ase* 1.

Hita, 1099 *-asen* 4. (In the *Cantares* of Hita, the *ss* is usually simplified to *s*).

-iesse.

S. Domingo, 431 *-iesses* 4.

Milagros, 347 *-iessen* 4.

Alexandre, 291 *-iesses* 4.
715 *-iessen* 4.
896 *-iesse* 4.
1391 *-i[e]sse* 4.
1477 *-iessen* 4.

Hita, 74 *-iese* 4.
1430 *-iese* 4.

The rhyme *-essa(s)* occurs in

Alexandre, 313 *deessas*, *duquessas*, *iugraressas* (suffix -ισσα, -ĭssam).

Hita, 1140 *espesas* (spĭssas), *desas* (ipsas with assimilation, becoming *issas), *profesas* (professas), *promesas* (promĭssas).

1497 *fuesa* (fŏssam), *priesa* (pressam), *aviesa* (aversam with assimilation to *avessam), *atraviesa* (ad + traversam, ad + *travessam).

Here it must be noted that although medial *-ss-* does not rhyme with medial *-s-*, *ç*, or *z*, it does rhyme, in a few cases, with medial *x* (= *š*). The sounds *-ss-* and *x* were probably closely related as to their places of articulation. Hence it is that the Moors confused the two sounds when speaking Spanish, and the *aljamiado* texts rendered both *x* and *ss* by a double *šīn* (see below, p. 167). Moreover, in certain of our texts, such as the *Milagros*, *ss* is actually found written for an etymological *x*. The cases of *x* in rhyme with *ss* are

Alexandre, 599 *quexa*, *remessa*, *apriessa*, *contie*[*n*]*ssa*.

1722 *promessa*, *ioglaressa*, *dexa*, *quexa*.

The *ss* is written instead of *x* in *Milagros*, 530 *quessa* (= *quexa*), rhyming with *abbadessa*, *promessa*, *prioressa*.

There is either mere assonance or a mistake in *Alexandre*, 796, *enfiestas* rhyming with *auiessas*, *trauiessas*, *priessas*.

The rhyme *-asso* is seen in

Hita, 524 *paso* (passum), *laso* (lassum), *escaso* (*excarpsum, *escassum), *traspaso*.

-asso rhymes with *-also* in

Hita, 1416 *falso*, *traspaso*, *paso*, *cadahalso*. In connection with this phenomenon, we should bear in mind the doubling of the *s* after *l* found in the *Cid*. See above, p. 103.

The rhyme *-assa* occurs in

Hita, 497 *masa*, *pasa*, *traspasa*, *laxa*. The *laxa* is either a mistake for *lassa* (lassam), written under the influence of the preceding *flaxa*, or is another instance of *x* rhyming with *ss*.

-esso seems to rhyme with *-erso* in

Hita, 1299 *versos*, *abiesos*, *traviesos*, *esos*. *Versos* may have been pronounced *vessos* with the assimilation of *r* to *s* seen in *abiesos* (adversos) and *traviesos* (transversos).

Final *s* is found in rhyme in

Alexandre, 66 *des*, *mes*, *cortes*, *res*.

Appollonio, 116 *-ies* 4 (apocopation of *-iesse*, the subjunctive impf.).

Hita, 286 *burges*, *ves*, *es*, *despues*.

553 *recabdaras*, *cras*, *has*, *habras*.

-esta rhymes with *-exta* and *-esto* with *-exto* in

Sacrifiçio, 245 *gesta*, *sexta*, *honesta*, *fiesta*.

Hita, 371 *sexta*, *presta*, *aquesta*, *fiesta*.

20 *sexto*, *presto*, *puesto*.

Here *xt* meant *st*, and *sesto*, *sesta* were good forms in Old Spanish, as they are in modern Spanish.

In *Hita*, 1393, the following rhymes occur : *raposo, provechoso, polso, coso.* The stanza is probably corrupt. The first two rhymes in *-oso* (-osus) belong together, and have a voiced *s*. The second two have a voiceless *ss*. Just as *ls* rhymed with *ss* and *rs* with *ss*, so also *ls* (*polso* = pŭlsum) rhymed with *rs* (*coso* = cŭrsum).

III. X.

In Old Spanish many words contain an *x*, which, in modern Spanish as written according to the rules of the Academy, has given way to a *j*, with the value of a guttural spirant. The Old Spanish value was not that of a guttural spirant, but that of a voiceless palatal sibilant (*š*), unless the *x* was immediately followed by a consonant, in which case it probably meant *s* in popular words.

In the *Altspanische Glossen* the *x* does not appear, but is represented by *sc*, probably = *š*, in nos. 108, 142; 159 *laiscare* (= laxare ?); no. 3 *elaiscaret;* no. 155 *alaiscant;* nos. 158, 202 *laiscaret.*[1] In the *Misterio* and the other texts the *x* appears, deriving mainly from Latin *x*, but also from certain other Latin sibilant combinations and from the Arabic *šīn* (= *š*).

(*A*) Old Spanish *x* from Latin (Gk.) **x**:

adux, etc. (= ad + duxi, etc.). *Cid, adux* 1 (v. 3599); *aduxieron* 1 (3010); *aduxier* 1 (181); *aduxiera* 1 (1420); *aduxiestes* 1 (1764); *aduxiessen* 1 (1573). *A. J. & B., aduxiste* 1 (p. 368, l. 11); *aduxieron* 1 (379, 33); *rreduxiese* 1 (344, 30).

antrax (= ἄνθραξ). *Stb.*, 3 (p. 23, l. 27; 24, ll. 12, 13).

çinxo (cf. cinxit). *Cid, çinxo* 7 (vv. 58, 78, 875, 899, 1574, 1961, 2615); *çinxiestes* 6 (vv. 41, 175, 439, 1595, 1706, 2185).

coxo (= *coxus, lame). *Débat* 1 (v. 83). *A. J. & B.* 2 (p. 370, ll. 9, 10).

destruxo (cf. destruxit). *A. J. & B.* 1 (p. 384, l. 13).

dexar (= laxare, the *d* being due to a contamination of laxare and delaxare; see Schuchardt in *Ztschr. f. rom. Phil.*, XV, 237). *Misterio, dexara* 1. *Poème d'Amour, dexa* 1. *Débat, dexemos* 1; *lexas* 1. *Cid, dexar*, etc. 74. *Vision, dexaste*, 3; *dexan* 1. *Disputa, dexa* 1;

[1] Cf. Priebsch in *Ztschr. f. rom. Phil.*, XIX, 15.

dexauas 1 ; *dexaron* 1 ; *dexes* 1. *C. & E.*, *dexar*, etc. 43. *Caza*, *dexar*, etc. 60. *A. J. & B.*, *dexar*, etc. 39. *Lab.*, *dexar*, etc. 22.

dixe, etc. (= dixi, etc.). *Misterio*, *dixo* 1. *Poème d'Amour*, *dix* (= *dixe*) 2 ; *dixo* 2. *Débat*, *dixo* 2 ; *dixiere* 1. *Fragmento*, *dixo* 1. *Cid*, *dix* 1 (v. 2370) ; *dixo* 91 ; *dixiestes* 1 (v. 3462) ; *dixieron* 10 ; *dixier* 1 (v. 530) ; *dixiere* 1 (v. 1912) ; *dixieredes* 1 (v. 1872). *Vision*, *dixo* 4 ; *dixiste* 3. *Disputa*, *dixe* 1 ; *dixo* 1. *C. & E.*, *dixe* 10 ; *dixo* 14 ; *dixiesse* 3 ; *dixere* 1. *Caza*, *dixo* 1 (42, 1) ; *dixieron* 3 ; *dixiese* 1 (80, 16). *Stb.*, *dixo* 2 (p. 9, ll. 11, 18). *A. J. & B.*, *dixe* 5 ; *dixo* 184 ; *dixeron* or *dexieron* 15 ; *dixiste* or *dexiste* 12 ; *diximos* 1 ; *dexiese* 4 ; *dixieses* 1 ; *dexiesen* or *dixiesen* 2 ; *dixiera* 2 ; *dexieres* 1. *Lab.*, *dixe* 1 ; *dixo* 7 ; *dixiste* 1 ; *dixeron* 1.

examinada. *Stb.* 1 (p. 21, l. 7).

exceden. *Lab.* 1 (no. 18, l. 5).

excelencia. *Lab.* 2 (no. 36, l. 4 ; 58, 22).

exceso. *Vision*, *exçesos* 1 (p. 51, l. 9). *Lab.*, *excesso* 1 (41, 30) ; *excessiua* 1 (36, 42).

exçitada. *Stb.*, 1 (p. 14, l. 17).

exemplo. *C. & E.* 2 (p. 476, l. 27 ; 513, 28). *Stb.* 1 (30, 14). *Lab.* 5 (12, 18 ; 13, 25 ; 33, 26 ; 39, 22 ; 59, 22). Cf. *Cid*, v. 2731, *enssienplos*, concerning which, as well as the form *enxemplo*, not found in these texts, see *Ztschr. f. rom. Phil.*, V, 550 ff. ; VI, 425 ff.

eximios. *Stb.* 1 (p. 14, l. 4).

exir (= exire). *Poème d'Amour*, *ex*[*ir*] 1 (v. 161) ; *yxia* 2 (vv. 40, 49). *Fragmento*, [*e*]*xient* 1 (p. 60, l. 2 ; cf. p. 61, l. 2 *esida*, perhaps = *ešida*). *Cid*, *exir*, etc. 31.

exorado (= exauratum ; see *Romania*, XIII, 302). *Cid* 1 (v. 733).

expeller, etc. *Stb.* 4 (p. 2, l. 8 ; 5, 14 ; 6, 1 ; 31, 23). *Lab.* 1 (24, 21).

experimentado, etc. *Stb.*, *experimentado* 1 (p. 21, l. 16) ; *experiençia* 2 (30, 19 ; 32, 13) ; cf. p. 32, l. 7, *esperimento*.

extenso. *Stb.* 2 (p. 12, l. 13 ; 29, 26).

extinguir. *Stb.* 1 (p. 23, l. 28).

Fenix. *Lab.* 5 (p. 16, l. 46 ; p. 40, ll. 9, 10, 16 ; p. 50, l. 19).

floxar, etc. *Caza*, *floxa* 1 (p. 10, l. 26) ; *afloxar*, etc. 3 (p. 25, l. 24 ; 59, 27 ; 61, 3). *Stb.*, *fluxo* (p. 23, ll. 21, 22 ; p. 29, l. 22 ; p. 32, l. 21). *A. J. & B.*, *afloxada* 1 (p. 355, l. 36). *Lab.*, *afloxa* 1 (62, 50).

lexos (= adverb from **laxus**). *Caza* 1 (p. 28, l. 16). *A. J. & B.*, *lexos* 6 (p. 348, l. 34; 351, 26; 376, 7; 386, 42; 390, 11; 393, 40); *alexos* 1 (p. 347, l. 23). *Lab.*, *lexos* 3 (24, 82; 34, 32; 68, 15); *alexar* 1 (41, 33).

luxuria. *Disputa* 1 (VI, 6). *C. & E.* 1 (p. 491, l. 22). *A. J. & B.*, *luxuria* 2 (p. 370, l. 36; 377, 11); *luxuriosos* 1 (p. 381, l. 9); *luxuriosamente* 1 (p. 347, l. 13).

madexas (= **mataxa**, μάταξα). *Lab.* 1 (31, 13).

maximas. *C. & E.* 1.

mexillas (= **maxilla**). *Lab.* 2 (36, 90; 62, 20).

onix. *Stb.* 1 (p. 12, l. 8).

Polux. *Stb.* 1 (p. 26, l. 13).

seyx. *Cid* 1 (v. 2489). *Stb.*, *sexangulo* 2 (p. 14, ll. 2, 16).

sexto. *C. & E.* 4. *Caza* 1 (p. 26, l. 28).

texido (from **texere**). *Lab.* 1 (no. 26, l. 21).

texos (= **taxos**, 'yew-trees'). *C. & E.* 1 (p. 509, l. 11).

traxo, etc. (cf. **traxit**, etc.). *Vision*, *traxiste* 1 (p. 55, l. 38); *troxiste* 1 (p. 55, l. 39); *troxiese* 1 (p. 53, l. 32); *troxiesen* 1 (p. 53, l. 28). *C. & E.*, *troxe* 1 (p. 462, l. 20); *troxiesse* 1 (p. 481, l. 6). *Caza*, *traxo* 1 (p. 40, l. 6); *traxiere* 1 (p. 11, l. 2); *troxiere* 4 (p. 25, l. 13; 27, 17; 32, 18; 67, 8); *troxieron* 1 (p. 80, l. 12); *traxta* 1 (p. 4, l. 20; Baist would change this to *trayna*). *Stb.*, *traxo* 2 (p. 23, l. 26; 28, 5); *traxiere* 4 (p. 28, 15; 29, 24; 30, ll. 21, 24); *troxiere* 1 (p. 28, 2). *A. J. & B.*, *traxo* 1 (p. 377, l. 11); *troxiste* 1 (p. 380, l. 33); *troxieron* 2 (p. 373, 23; 393, 36); *traxiese* 2 (p. 374, 44; 364, 35); *traxieren* 1 (p. 383, 28). *Lab.*, *truxo* 2 (46, ll. 12, 14); *truxeren* 1 (3, 26).

xamet. *Poème d'Amour*, *xamet* 1 (v. 71). *Cid*, *xamed* 1 (v. 2207). Cf. the Middle-Greek ἐξάμιτος, ξάμητος.

xarcias. *Lab.* 1 (37, 24). Cf. the Late-Greek ἐξάτρια 'rigging of a ship,' etc.

(*B*) An analogical *x* is found in the preterites of *fuir* (**fugere**) and *tañer* (**tangere**):

Cid, *fuxiste* 1 (v. 3318); cf. *adux*, etc.: *tanxo* 1 (v. 1673); cf. Lat. **plangere**, *planxi*.

[illegible]

[illegible] the regular one [illegible] French [illegible] But in the [illegible] from the general [illegible] the great majority of [illegible] the two instances of [illegible]

[illegible] Grimm [illegible]

(*E*) Latin **ssy** gave Old Spanish *x*.

baxo, etc. *Cid*, *abaxan* 2 (vv. 716, 3616), *abaxo* 1 (v. 2393). *Vision*, *baxa* 1 (p. 57, l. 29). *Disputa*, *baxo* 1 (stz. 8, v. 4). *Caza*, *uaxo* 4 (p. 40, ll. 22, 23; p. 44, l. 9; p. 45, l. 10), *abaxar* 1 (p. 31, l. 1). *Stb.*, *baxo* 3 (p. 12, l. 21; p. 20, l. 11; p. 21, l. 13). *A. J. & B.*, *abaxada* 1 (p. 375, l. 13). *Lab.*, *baxo* or *baxar* 6. From * **bassium**, * **bassiare**; cf. Meyer-Lübke, *Ztschr. f. rom. Phil.*, XVII, 569 and *Gramm.*, I, § 546, Gröber, *Archiv f. lat. Lexikographie*, I, 248.

roxo. *Stb.*, 3 (p. 17, l. 27 *bis*; p. 18, l. 13). From **russeum**; cf. Meyer-Lübke, l.c., Gröber, *Archiv f. lat. Lexikographie*, V, 242.

(*F*) Latin intervocalic **ss** apparently gave Old Spanish *x*.

paxaro. *C. & E.*, *paxaros* 2 (p. 502, l. 23; 503, 19). *Lab.*, *paxarillos* 1 (no. 49, l. 19). Cf. *passer non passar* in the *Appendix Probi*.

bexiga. *Stb.* 1 (p. 32, l. 28). From * **vessīca**; see *Archiv f. lat. Lexikographie*, VI, 141.

(*G*) Latin **ps** apparently gave Old Spanish *x*.

caxa. *Lab.* 1 (no. 49, v. 22). From **capsam**; see Baist, *Grundriss*, I, 703.

quixada. *Caza*, *quixadas* 4 (p. 9, l. 7; 11, 14; 12, 27; 57, 7). *A. J. & B.*, *quixadas* 1 (p. 383, l. 11). From **capsum**; see Gröber, *Archiv f. lat. Lexikographie*, I, 542.

(*H*) Latin **ls** apparently gave Old Spanish *x*.

enpuxar. *A. J. & B.*, *enpuxando* 1 (p. 385, l. 27), *enpuxado* 1 (p. 386, l. 34), *enpoxado* 1 (p. 386, l. 42). From **pulsare**; see Gröber, *Archiv f. lat. Lexikographie*, IV, 452.

That **ssy** should have become *x* (*š*) is not inexplicable, since the combination contains a palatalizing factor, but that **ss**, **ps**, and **ls** should have resulted in the same sound is open to doubt. Besides, **ss** and **ps** have been found to yield regularly a voiceless *s* (*ss* or *s*) in all the texts, e.g. *passar* = **passare**, *esso* (*eso*) = **ipsum**, while **ls** remained intact or merely doubled the *s*, e.g. *falso*, *falsso* = **falsum**. It seems, then, that we must either give up entirely the etyma concerned, or modify them so as to suit them to their descendants. For **capsam**, **capsum**, and **pulsare** it may not be too venturesome to postulate a palatal element, and assume such forms as * **capseam**,

* **capseum**, and * **pulseare**. For *bexiga*, as well as for the It. *vescica*, a source ***vexīcam** or * **vescīcam** would be more satisfactory.[1] **Passerem**, which has properly developed in the other Romance languages, may have undergone an Arabic influence in Spain.[2]

(*I*) Latin (Greek) intervocalic **sy** apparently gave Old Spanish *x*.

carcax. *A. J. & B.* 2 (p. 370, ll. 24, 26). This word has been derived by Carolina Michaelis de Vasconcellos (*Jahrb. f. rom. und eng. Lit.*, XIII, 313 ff.) from Greek καρχήσιον, modern καρκάσιον 'quiver' (among other meanings). But from a * **carcasium** there should have resulted in Spanish a form * *carqueso*, cf. *beso* from **basium**, *queso* from **caseum**. Only from **sy** preceded by a consonant do we get *š* (see Meyer-Lübke, *Gramm.*, I, § 511).[3] Then καρκάσιον alone will not explain the Old Spanish word, and we must call in the aid of the Arabic word *tarkaš* 'quiver.' This Dozy (*Glossaire*, p. 250) regarded as the sole source of *carcax*,[4] and sought to justify the change of *t* to *k*.[5] But as the Arabic word is undoubtedly a loan-word from the Persian, and apparently too late a one to be regarded as the source of the various Romance forms corresponding to *carcax* (see C. Michaelis, l.c., p. 318), the safer course may be to refer *carcax* to * **carcasium** and assume that the *x* is due to a contamination with *tarkaš*, whose *šīn* (= *š*) would rightly give Old Spanish *x*.[6]

---

[1] Meyer-Lübke, adhering to the older supposed source, **vesīcam**, says (*Gramm.*, I, § 443): — "Span. *vejiga*, portg. *bexiga* zeigen für inlautend *s* im Silbenanlaut ebenfalls die Behandlung von anlautendem, ebenso ital. *vescica*, und mit noch mehr Recht rum. *beşică*, eng. *vŝia*." The instances cited show that the *š* of this word is a wide-spread Romance phenomenon, while the change of *s* at the beginning of a word or a syllable to *š* is not a general Romance feature.

[2] Meyer-Lübke, *Gramm.*, I, § 546, thinks that the *x* (modern *j*) is due merely to the position of the *ss* "am Schlusse von betonter Antepenultima." He states a fact and does not explain its effect.

[3] Cf. *Ztschr. f. rom. Phil.*, XVII, 568. For a possible *late* popular development of *j* out of **sy**, see below, p. 151, s.v. *zelogia*.

[4] In so doing he followed the lead of J. Müller in the *Sitz.-Berichte der Münch. Akademie*, 1861, II, p. 103.

[5] His arguments can hardly be made to apply to an initial *t*.

[6] See the *Literaturblatt*, XX (1899), col. 211, where this word is held to be a loan-word.

(*J*) Arabic *šīn* gave Old Spanish *x*.

alfaxor. *Vision* 1 (p. 54, l. 40). Dozy and Engelmann, p. 59: "Alaxu, alaxur, alfaxu, alfaxur ('cierta pasta que hazen los Moros, hecha de pan rollado, miel alegria y especias,' Cobarruvias). L'arabe . . . démontre que *alfaxu* est l'orthographe la plus exacte et que les autres formes n'en sont que des altérations."

axuuar. *Cid* 2 (vv. 1650, 2571). From *alšuar;* see Dozy and Engelmann, p. 221.

balaxes. *C. & E.* 1 (p. 513, l. 2). Dozy and Engelmann, p. 233: "fr. rubis *balais* (sorte de rubis de couleur de vin paillet) de l'arabe-persan . . ." i.e. *balakš*.

xaras. *Disputa* 1 (II, 2). Dozy and Engelmann, p. 353: "*Xara* (ronce) de . . ." i.e. *ša'ra*.

xaropes. *A. J. & B.* 1 (p. 370, l. 13). Dozy and Engelmann, p. 218: "*Axarabe*, *axarave*, *xarabe* (sirop), de . . ." i.e. *al-šarâb*. "En esp. on trouve aussi *xarope*, *axarope* (Canc. de Baena). Dans la basse latinité le mot est devenu *syrupus*," etc. Cf. Baist, *Rom. Forschungen*, IV, 410, and Dozy and Engelmann, p. 17. To these common nouns must be added a number of names of places and rivers and some personal appellations, which contain either an original Arabic *šīn* or a Latin (initial) *s* which has passed through the Arabic. Cf. Baist, *Rom. Forschungen*, IV, 404: "Durch es [i.e. *šīn*] wird arabisch meist romanisches *s* ersetzt, seltener durch *ṣād* und *sīn;* in Spanien so bei den römischen Ortsnamen: *Hispalis–Išbilia–Sevilla*, *Singilio* (Idatius) *Xenil*, *Sucro Xúcar*, *Setabis Xativa*."

Arbuxedo. *Cid* 1.

Arbuxuelo. *Cid* 2 (vv. 1543, 2656).

Euax ("rey de los Arabes"). *Stb.* 1 (p. 1, l. 1).

Guardamexu. *Caza* 1 (p. 84, l. 28).

Ladaxa. *Caza* 1 (p. 70, l. 8).

Xatiua. *Cid* 3 (vv. 1160, 1165, 1227).

Xax. *Caza* 3 (p. 69, ll. 18, 21, 23).

Xarama. *Lab.* 2 (p. 21, l. 3; 41, 13).

Xecla. *Caza* 1 (p. 69, l. 18).

Xerica. *Cid* 3 (vv. 1092, 1108, 1327).

Ximena. *Cid* 20 (vv. 239, 253, etc.).

Ximenez. *Cid* 2 (vv. 3417, 3422); cf. v. 3394 *Simenez.* *Caza, Ximenes* 3 (p. 3, ll. 27, 28; p. 8, l. 15).
Xodara. *Caza* 3 (p. 88, ll. 20, 21, 22).
Xorquera. *Caza* 2 (p. 43, l. 17; 68, 23).
Xucar. *Cid* 1 (v. 1228). *Caza* 12 (p. 68, l. 25; 74, ll. 7, 12, 24, 30; 75, 24; 76, ll. 1, 4, 8, 16; 77, 30; 78, 4).
Xuela. *Caza, Xuela* 4 (p. 79, l. 20; 81, 8; 82, 10; 84, 9); *Xuchela* 1 (81, 18); *Xuhela* 2 (81, 22; 84, 15).
Xuheron. *Caza* 2 (44, 30; 84, 14).

This representation of an Arabic *šīn* by *x* is paralleled by the custom in the *aljamiado* texts, such as the *Poema de José*, of transliterating an Old Spanish *x* by *šīn;* cf. *Rom. Forschungen*, IV, 404, *Grundriss*, I, 402, Dozy and Engelmann, p. 17.

(*K*) Old Spanish initial *x* answering to Latin initial **s**:

xierra (cf. **serram**). *C. & E.*, *xieras* 1 (p. 508, l. 23; Gräfenberg suggests an unnecessary change of *xieras* to *sierras* or *tierras*). *Caza, xierras* 3 (p. 69, l. 24; 71, 8; 84, 9); cf. *sierras* 6 (p. 73, ll. 11, 14, 29; 74, ll. 16, 24; 85, 25).
ximio (cf. **simium**). *C. & E.*, *xymios* 1 (p. 496, l. 3). *A. J. & B.*, *ximia* 1 (p. 370, l. 40).
xufre (cf. **sulfur, sulfurem**). *Vision* 1 (p. 57, l. 37).

Baist (*Grundriss*, I, p. 703) considers such forms as these to be dialectal. It is likely that in them we have to deal with Arabic or Mozarabic modifications of the original Spanish words. From a passage in the *Côrtes de Júpiter* of Gil Vicente, cited by Gonçalves Vianna (*Deux faits de phonologie historique portugaise*, Lisbon, 1892, p. 6, and *Revista Lusitana*, II, p. 334, n. 3), it seems that the Moors ordinarily pronounced the Spanish *s* in much the same fashion as their own *šīn*, i.e. as *š*, being induced thereto by the cacuminal nature of the Spanish sound.[1] So, too, from the long list of forms given by F. J. Simonet (*Glosario de voces ibéricas y latinas usadas entre los mozárabes*, Madrid, 1888; see especially the introduction, p. clxxxii,[2] and cf. Meyer-Lübke, *Ztschr. f. rom. Phil.*, XVII,

[1] See above, p. 111.
[2] See also *ibid.*, p. 571, s.v. *serra*, p. 592, s.vv. *xerra, xerro.*

567 ff.),[1] it must be evident that the Mozárabes habitually changed (initial) *s* to *x* (*š*).

In the case of *xierra* an Arabicizing was almost inevitable, since it often formed part of a local name, as in *Xierra de Yelo*, *Caza*, p. 71, l. 8. By the side of *xufre* there exists the Portuguese *enxofre*.

(*L*) *X* in the combination *enx* due to a confusion of the prefixes **ex-** and **in(s)-**.

enxerir (= **inserere**). *Caza* 6 (p. 64, ll. 21, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28).
enxuga (= **exsucare**). *Lab.* 3 (no. 69, vv. 2, 22, 42).
enxuto (= ***exsuctum**). *Caza*, *enxuto* 2 (p. 9, l. 24; 18, 24), *exuto* 1 (p. 18, l. 27). *Lab. enxutas* 1 (no. 9, v. 30).

In *enxuga* and *enxuto*, there would naturally be an *x* descended from the Latin *x*, and their *n* may be due merely to an insertion of *n* before the *s* sound (cf. Baist, *Ztschr. f. rom. Phil.*, V, 551).[2] Schuchardt, however, holds to the theory that in such cases the *n* is due to an intermingling of *ex-* and *en-* (*Ztschr. f. rom. Phil.*, VI, 425). Similarly it may be contended that the *x* of *enxerir* is due to a contamination of *ex-* with *en-*, which, it is to be observed, is followed by a sibilant in the Latin etymon.[3]

(*M*) Latin **t'l, d'l** apparently gave Old Spanish *x*.

lixo. *Débat*, *lixos* 2 (vv. 72, 75), *lixosa* 1 (v. 70). *Disputa*, *lixoso* 1

---

[1] Cf. Cuervo, *Revue hispanique*, II, 63: "Salta á los ojos la influencia arábiga en la transformación de la *s* en *x*, y quedan inteligibles aun aquellos casos en que los romanistas no le hallan razón plausible."

[2] See also Foerster in *Ztschr. f. rom. Phil.*, I, 560.

[3] Cf. W. Sander, *Ztschr. f. rom. Phil.*, XIII, 321: "Während nämlich anlaut. *n* im Span. ebenso deutlich wie deutsches *n* artikuliert wird, findet bei ausl. *n* nur ein ganz loser, wahrscheinlich oft gar kein Verschluss statt. . . . Infolge dieser mangelhaften Artikulation des span. ausl. *n* entstand z. B. aus lat. *inserere* span. *injerir:* die vorhergehende Lösung des Verschlusses und Gestalt der Zungenspitze übertrug sich auf das folgende *s*." The explanation is scarcely a satisfactory one for the development of *š* out of *s*. Araujo's description of the tongue position in the pronunciation of final *n* makes the development rather difficult: see *Fonétika kastełana*, p. 50: "Toda *n* ortográfika no prezedida de guturál o de *f* se pronuncia *n*. . . . En fin de dikzión sin embargo resulta algo diferente i komo inkompleta su pronunziazión, . . . por kedár la lengua pegada a los albéolos, sin separarse de ełos."

ably tolerated no voiced consonant in the final position,[1] the *ž* would in this case unvoice to *š*, whence *relox*.

barnax. *Cid* 1 (v. 3325); cf. O. Fr. *barnage*. The process in the case of this word was probably the same as in that of *relox*.

(*O*) Old Spanish *x* and *j* confused :

rexas. *Lab*. 1 (no. 14, v. 16), cf. no. 60, vv. 14, 50, 54 *reja*. As the source is **regulam**, the form *reja* is alone correct; cf. **tegulam**, *teja*. The appearance of *rexas* indicates the commencing of the confusion of *x* and *j*, which is probably due to the fact that *j* had lost its dental and its voiced quality, so that it closely approximated the *š* sound denoted by *x*.

(*P*) Old Spanish *x* of uncertain origin :

embaxadora 1 (*Stb*., p. 25, l. 18). This is probably a loan-word. Certainly an ***ambactiatorem** could not develop an *x* = *š*.

IV. J, G(E, I).

J and *g*(*e*, *i*), which in modern Spanish are gutturals, were sibilants in Old Spanish. They were not simple sounds like the *x*, but consisted of a dental stop followed by a voiced palatal sibilant, as is indicated by the fact that they represent the sibilant *ǧīm* (= *dž*) of Arabic words adopted into Spanish, as well as by the fact that *ǧīm* is used in *aljamiado* texts to transliterate Old Spanish *j* and *g*(*e*, *i*).

Both *j*, or, in the manuscripts, *i*, and *g* are also used in Old Spanish with a *y* value, so that in certain cases it becomes difficult to say whether they denote the *dž* or the *y* sound. If, in such cases, the modern word has *y*, it seems reasonable to infer that the older language had that same semi-vocalic sound, which was never developed into the stop *dž*; cf. *Misterio*, *iace* (p. 2, l. 24); *Débat*, *iaze* 1 (v. 53); *Fragmento*, *jazia* (p. 61, l. 1); *Cid*, *iazer* and parts 8, with *Cid*, *yazen* 2, *yogo* 1 (= **jacuit**); *C. & E.*, *yazen* 1; *Stb.*, *yaziente* 1; *Caza*, *yazen* 3; *Lab.*, *yazida* 1, *yazer* 3, modern *yacer*.

The appearance throughout the later texts and in the modern speech of *y*, which was written expressly for the semi-vowel and

[1] See above, pp. 96 ff. Cf. *Literaturblatt*, XX (1899), col. 211.

probably never meant *dž*, shows that in this word the earlier *i* and *j* are only etymological and mean *y*.

If the modern word has the guttural *j*, *g*(*e*, *i*), it is also possible to argue, in the same way, that the Old Spanish word possessed the stop *dž*, the precursor of the modern sound. But it must be said that, especially in the case of *g*(*e*, *i*) deriving from a Latin **g**(*e*, *i*), the modern guttural sound is often the result of a purely learned impulse, since a Latin initial or intervocalic *g*[illegible] words disappeared in Spanish: see M[illegible]), the result [illegible] Baist, *Grundriss*, I, 704; Gol[illegible] words [illegible] 1 ff.

It is chiefly i[illegible] easily [illegible] of an initial *j*, [illegible] *g*(*e*, *i*), that [illegible] doubt is occasioned b[illegible] Old Spanish spelling [illegible]nce an intervocalic *j*, *g*(*e*, *i*) answerin[illegible] a Latin **j**, **g**(*e*, *i*) must have denoted the *y* sound in forms like *lege* = **legem** (*Altspanische Glossen*, no. 146) and was clearly learned in words like *vigilia* (*Cid*, v. 3049). A *j*, *g*(*e*, *i*) corresponding to Latin **cl, gl, ly,** Arabic *ǵīm* and the *j* of loan-words from the French, was undoubtedly *dž*.

The extremely complicated condition of our earlier texts in the use of *j* (or *i*) and *g* will be obvious from the ensuing list.[1]

(*A*) *Altspanische Glossen* (11th century).

Latin **j** gave Old Spanish *i*: no. 93 *iactare*, no. 50 *iectatis;* no. 31 *periuret;* no. 253 *iustanos;* no. 132 *iuntaret*, no. 126 *iuntatione*, no. 144 *iunctatione*, no. 137 *adiuncta*, no. 158 *aiuntaren* (source **dy**). Nos. 113, 133 *maius* is probably only the Latin word.

Latin **g**(*e*, *i*) gave Old Spanish *g*: 88 *gentile* (*dž*); 146 *lege* (*y*); 184 *cogitet;* 186 *frangitate*, 284 *frangeret* (*ng* possibly = *ñ*).[2]

---

[1] The conditions under which *j* became now Old Spanish *y* and again Old Spanish *dž* can hardly be stated definitively. It is probable that *j* disappeared before unaccented *e* (***jenuario**, *enero*) unless a learned influence prevailed, as in some proper names. The treatment of *j* before *a*, *o*, *u* is thus stated by Meyer-Lübke, *Gramm.*, I, § 407: "Im Span. wird er [the "palataler Verschlusslaut" from *j*] zu *y* vor betontem *a*, *o*, *u*, vor *ué* und vor tonlosem *a*, *u* zu *h* (geschrieben *j*)." Meyer-Lübke speaks of the modern sound of *j* only, but what he says must apply also to its predecessor, the sibilant *dž*. His rule does not cover all the cases.

[2] Cf. Priebsch, *Ztschr. f. rom. Phil.*, XIX, 38. He adds *luenge*, *punga*, and *tingen* as instances of *ng* = *ñ*, and thinks that in 212 *condugteros* the *g* means *y*.

The *y* value of *g* is evident in 95 *gerranza* = **errantiam**, 292 *gerrato* = **erratum**, 242 *gestra* = **extra**, 240 *siegat* = **sedeat**, 258 *siegan* = **sedeant**, since in the first three words it represents the strongly consonantal *i̯* of the diphthong *ie* developed out of Latin accented **ĕ**,[1] and in the other two is evolved out of intervocalic **dy**.

Vulgar Latin **ly**, which is one of the most prolific sources of Old Spanish *j*, *g*(*e*, *i*), appears here only as *ly* or *ill*, in 223 *similia*, 250 *taillatu*, 241 *conceillo*. It is hard to believe that by the 11th century **ly** had not already reached the *dž* stage, so that these forms are either imperfect etymological representatives of the sound or are dialectal.[2]

Latin **j** gave Old Spanish *z* in 40 *zetare*. From the apparent sense of this word, which is used to gloss **transmiserit**, it seems that it is the same as no. 98 *iactare* and no. 132 *iectatis*. If this be the case, the *z* perhaps shows an attempt to express the sibilant quality of Old Spanish *j*, or it may mean *dy* (cf. *baptidiare* in Vulgar Latin), and its use here apparently parallels its use in *sepazinta* = **septuaginta**, found in Hübner, *Inscr. Hisp. Christ.* 22.[3]

(*B*) *Misterio* (13th century).

Latin **j** gave Old Spanish *i*, *j*: p. 1, l. 16 *iugara*, 2, 29 *ieremias*, 2, 24 *iace*, 1, 17 *major*, 2, 21 *maiordo* (= **major domus**). In the last three cases *i*, *j* = *y*.

Latin **ly** gave Old Spanish *i*: 2, 26 *meiores*.

Latin **g(e)** gave Old Spanish *g*(*e*): p. 1, ll. 2, 15, 17, 21 *gentes*.

In 2, 13 *gera* the *g* stands for *gu*.

(*C*) *Poème d'Amour.*

Latin **j** gave Old Spanish *i*, *j*: v. 95 *maior* (*i* = *y*), v. 104 *junniemos*

---

[1] In *gerranza*, *gerrato* of course appears the influence of those forms of the verb *errar* which accent the stem.

[2] That is, Aragonese; cf. *Grundriss*, I, 704.

[3] Cited by Baist, *Ztschr. f. rom. Phil.*, IX, 148. With the *zetare* of the *Glossen*, compare the *zetta* of the 12th century Italian *Cantilena bellunese*, v. 11 (E. Monaci, *Crestomazia italiana dei primi secoli*, Città di Castello, 1889, fascicolo primo, p. 16). If this Spanish *z* means *y*, then the modern *echar* may be explained as caused by loss of *y* in unaccented *ye* (cf. *enero*), modern *echa* being itself analogical for original *yecha* from **jectat* or *jactat* (cf. *hecho* from *factum*).

(jungere). With the *i* of *maior* compare *y* from Latin **j**, **g**(*e*) in v. 11 *yantar*, 54 *peyor*, 114 *yentes*, 79 *yamas*. *Yamas* is surprising in view of the modern *jamás* and the *iamas*, *jamas* of the other texts. Its *y* may be due to the influence of *ya* (= **jam**).

Latin **c'l** gave Old Spanish *i*: vv. 64, 127 *oios*, 59 *oreia*, 16, 66 *vermeio*, 58 *bermeia*.

Latin **ly** gave Old Spanish *i*: vv. 75, 123 *ielas* (= later *gelas*).

In v. 110 *mesaiero* (***missaticarium**) we probably have to do with a loan-word from Old French or Provençal.

(*D*) *Débat.*

Latin **j** gave Old Spanish *i*, *j*: l. 26 *jurar*, 42 *iuego*, 87 *Iesu*, 53 *iaze*, 39 *aiuda*. In *iaze* and *aiuda* the *i* = *y*, and in *aiuda* it really goes back to **dy** instead of **j**.

Latin **cl** gave Old Spanish *i*: 29 *vermeia*, 71 *caleias* (***calliculas**).

The appearance of **ly** as *ll* in ll. 93, 95 *fillos* is doubtless an Aragonese peculiarity. The *Débat* was transcribed, if not composed, in Aragonese territory (cf. Morel-Fatio, *Romania*, XVI, 367).

(*E*) *Fragmento.*

Lat. **j** (and **dy**) gave Old Spanish *i*, *j*: p. 61, l. 9 *iurr*[*aste*], p. 61, l. 1 *jazia*, p. 61, l. 10 *aiuda*.

Latin **cl** gave Old Spanish *i*: p. 61, l. 8 *treb*[*e*]*ios* (***triviculos**?).

Latin **ly** gave Old Spanish *i*: p. 61, l. 5 *semeias*, p. 61, l. 8 *conseio*.

In p. 62, l. 3 *loseniar*, the *i* probably points to an Old French or Provençal *dž* source; cf. modern *lisonjear*.

The sibilant character of *g* is apparent in its use for *ch* in p. 61, l. 6 *nog* = *noche*; cf. *Cid*, vv. 1699, 2500 *noch*.

(*F*) *Cid* (14th century).

Latin **j** gave Old Spanish *i*, *j*:

iamas 1 (v. 2680).

iaser 8 (393, 437, 1209, 1463, 1613, 2635, 2702, 2869), cf. *yazen* 2 (vv. 618, 785), *yogo* 1 (v. 573).

iantar 7 (vv. 285, 304, 1039, 1057, 1062, 2250, 3051).

Iesu 1 (v. 1624); *Ieronimo*, *Iheronimo* 17 (vv. 1289, 1303, etc.).

iudios 1 (v. 347).

juego 1 (v. 3258; cf. vv. 2307, 2535 *guego*[1]); *jugara* 1 (v. 3319); *iogados* 1 (v. 3249).

juizio, junizio 3 (vv. 3239, 3259, 3485); *iunizio* 1 (v. 3226).

junto (= junctavit) 2 (vv. 1083, 3624), *juntaron* 1 (v. 3546), *juntados* (v. 3621); *iuntas* 2 (vv. 2914, 2949), *iuntar* 3 (312, 365, 1263), *iuntaredes* 1 (v. 2139), *iuntado* 7 (vv. 291, 506, 1113, 1201, 2070, 2209, 3012).

juro (indic. pres.) 2 (vv. 3140, 3509); *iura* 1 (v. 120).

iustos 1 (v. 3727).

maior 1 (v. 2588; but cf. *mayor* 9 in vv. 738, 2625, 2840, 2950, 3151, 3195, 3254, 3710, 3720).

In *aiuda, aiudar*, etc. 9 (vv. 143, 221, 363, 640, 1094, 1107, 1158, 2503, 2960) and in *aiuntar*, etc. 8 (vv. 373, 1171, 3320, 3717, 1625, 653, 1015, 491), the *i* must mean *y*, since its source is *dy*.

Latin c'l gave Old Spanish *i, j*.

aguijar, etc. 14 (vv. 51, 227, 232, 691, 858, 862, 1077, 1543, 2009, 2394, 2413, 2646, 2693, 2775); *aguiiar*, etc. 3 (vv. 10, 37, 601).

corneia 1 (v. 11).

moion 6 (vv. 1912, 3588, 3604, 3607, 3609, 3666). From * muc'lus out of cumulus (*Archivio Glott.*, IV, 391). Gröber (*Archiv f. lat. Lexikographie*, IV, 119) gives the etymon * mollionen; Meyer-Lübke (*Ztschr. f. rom. Phil.*, XIX, 99) prefers * metulonem from meta, but doubtless he would interpose a vulgar * meclonem.

oio 29 (vv. 1, 18, 27, 40, 46, etc.).

oreiadas 1 (v. 3304).

oueias 1 (v. 481).

pareio, apareiado 5 (vv. 2761, 3277, 3449, 1123, 1973).

sobeiano 13 (110, 653, 657, 838, 877, 988, 1775, 1796, 1852, 2272, 2482, 2541, 2912).

uermeio 6 (88, 178, 729, 3092, 3375, 3686).

ynoios, hynoios 10 (53, 264, 1318, 1759, 1843, 2021, 2030, 2039, 2593, 2934).

---

[1] Do these forms show an influence of *gozo* or does their *g* mean *dž*? In v. 85 *consego* and in v. 1256 *consegar g* is apparently *dž*. See also v. 518 *Guadalfagara*. Cf. below, p. 133.

Latin **ly** gave Old Spanish *i, j.*

amoiadas 1 (v. 993).

conseio, consseio, conseiar, consseiar, etc. 25 (vv. 122, 273, 382, etc.; cf. vv. 85, 1256 *consego, consegar* with *g* = *dž* as also perhaps in *guego,* above.

fijo, fija 124 (vv. 210, 254, 1035, etc.). The constancy with which the *j* is written in *fijo, fija* is remarkable. It is not written in the other *ly* words.

maian 1 (v. 2736), *maiaron* 2 (vv. 2743, 2943), *maiadas* 2 (vv. 2732, 2944).

meior, miior 27 (vv. 328, 615, 1349, etc.).

presentaia, presenteia 9 (vv. 516, 522, 878, 884, 1315, 1532, 1813, 1819, 1830).

semeiar, etc. 7 (vv. 157, 1346, 1875, 2077, 2364, 2414, 3125).

taiador 5 (vv. 780, 2726, 3077, 3555, 3585), *taiauan* 1 (v. 1172), *taiaremos* 1 (v. 2411), *taiado* 1 (v. 1241).

Arabic *ǧīm* gave Old Spanish *i.*

Guadalfaiara 2 (vv. 446, 479). From *Wad al-hidžara;* see Dozy and Engelmann, p. 16. Cf. v. 518 *Gudalfagara,* in which *g* probably means *dž.* In *Taio* 3 (vv. 1954, 1973, 3044), *Casteion* 12 (435, 441, 450, etc.) and *Oiarra* 3 (3394, 3417, 3422), an Arabic influence, if not an Arabic source, is very likely concerned.

Old Spanish *i* from Latin **t'c,** probably through Old French or Provençal *dž.*

husaie 1 (v. 1519).

menssaie, mensaie 7 (vv. 627, 975, 1188, 1453, 1477, 2600, 2885); cf. v. 1278 *mensage,* v. 1903 *menssageros.*

omenaies 1 (v. 3425).

Old Spanish *i* (*a, o, u*) substituted in conjugation for *g*(*e, i*).

coio 2 (vv. 577, 589), *coiamos* 1 (v. 621), *coian* 1 (v. 1691), *acoian* 1 (v. 447). The *i* appears unnecessarily in vv. 395, 1199, 2690 *acoien;* cf. v. 1440 *acogen.*

In v. 3319 *vujas* (from **obviare**), *j* = *y*; cf. v. 892 *huyar.* The *i* of v. 3295 *varaia* doubtless means *j*, as the allied form v. 3594 *varagen* would indicate.

Latin **g** gave Old Spanish *g*(*e*, *i*).

burgeses (see Diez, *Wörterb.*, s.v. *borgo*) 1 (v. 17), *burgesas* 1 (v.17).
coger, *acoger*, *escoger*, etc. (*g* really from *l'g*) 13 (vv. 44, 59, 134, 208, 213, etc.).
engendre 1 (v. 2086), *engendrastes* 1 (v. 2595).
gentes 5 (vv. 462, 653, 968, 988, 1201); cf. *yentes* 23 (vv. 29, 176, 388, etc.).
gentil 2 (vv. 672, etc.).
gesta 1 (v. 1085).
vigilia 1 (v. 3049).

Latin **ly** gave Old Spanish *g*(*e*).

ageno 3 (1326, 1642, 3248).
gelo, *gela*, etc., regularly (vv. 26, 34, 1274, etc.).
migeros (= * **milliarios**) 1 (v. 2407).
muger 49 (vv. 16, 210, etc.).

Old Spanish *g*(*e*) from Latin **t'c** through French *dž*.

v. 1278 *mensage*, v. 1903 *menssageros.*

Old Spanish *g*(*e*) from Latin **dy** through French *dž*.

v. 2700 *vergel;* see *Archiv f. lat. Lexikographie,* VI, 143.

Old Spanish *g* before *a*, *o*, *u* = *y* or *dž*.

v. 85 *consego*, v. 1256 *consegar;* vv. 2307, 2535 *guego* (= **jocum**); vv. 997, 3689 *firgades;* v. 518 *Guadalfagara.* The *g* of *firgades* may be the stop; cf. *tengais* = **teneatis.**[1]

Old Spanish *g* before *e*, *i* = *gu*.

caualgeremos 1 (v. 1061), *cavalgedes* 1 (v. 1461).
entergedes 1 (v. 3227); cf. v. 3234 *enterguen.*
gerra 1 (v. 865).

---

[1] The *g* of *tengais* is hardly a phonetic development, but is probably analogical: cf. *digo–tengo*, *digais–tengais.*

folgedes 1 (v. 1074).
legen 1 (v. 446).
mager 9 (vv. 171, 747, 1145, 1326, 1345, 1524, 1780, 2305, 3116).
otorge 1 (v. 3412); cf. v. 3411 *atorgar.*
plogiere 3 (v. 1047, 2050, 3225); cf. vv. 2626, 3349 *ploguiere; plogiesse* 1 (v. 2376).

Anomalous words with *g(e, i)*.

v. 1241 *tigera* cannot be tonsoria.
v. 2239 *eclegia*, v. 2241 *ecclegia;* cf. Baist, *Grundriss*, I, 703; Cornu, *Romania*, X, 91.
v. 3594 *varagen* is of obscure origin.
v. 402 *Figeruela*, place-name.
vv. 998, 3195 *Verengel;* cf. Fr. *Béranger.*

Latin j gave Old Spanish *y*:

ya (vv. 399, 1036, etc.), *yogo* 1 (v. 573), *yazen* 2 (vv. 618, 785), *Yague* 3 (vv. 731, 1138, 1690), *mayor* 9 (vv. 738, 2625, etc.). *Yuçef* 3 (vv. 1621, 1725, 1850) probably entered into Old Spanish through the Arabic.

Latin g(*e*) gave Old Spanish *y*:

yentes 23 (vv. 29, 176, 388, 395, 403, 417, 463, 657, 840, 901, 909, 1199, 1440, 1631, 1674, 1700, 1773, 1799, 2166, 2344, 3020, 3608, 3641); cf. *gentes* 5.
yerno, hyerno 24 (2106, 2123, 2188, 2270, 2279, 2304, 2326, 2332, 2343, 2353, 2443, 2460, 2468, 2479, 2496, 2507, 2519, 2580, 2630, 2637, 2894, 3158, 3206, 3342).

(*G*) *Vision.*

Latin j gave Old Spanish *i, j*:

jamas 9 (p. 51, l. 30; p. 51, l. 44; etc.).
ihesu 4 (51, 35; 56, 46; 58, 25; 59, 2).
juyzio 5 (p. 52, l. 36; 53, ll. 10, 12; 56, 27; 59, 46); *judga* 1 (60, 23), *judgaras* 1 (56, 21); *justiçia* 3 (59, 5; 60, ll. 24, 26).
juntas 1 (58, 40).

Latin **c'l** gave Old Spanish *j*:

aguijones 1 (58, 10).
bermejo 2 (54, 40; 57, 42).
cobyjadura 1 (53, 4; = * **coperculaturam**).
ojo 3 (52, 23; 57, 41; 58, 14).
oreja 3 (57, 44; 58, 2; 58, 14).
vieja 1 (54, 42), *envejeçiesen* 1 (60, 4).

Latin **ly** (Ger. **lh**) gave Old Spanish *j*:

arbejas 1 (53, 4; = * **ervilias**).
consejo 2 (53, 31; 54, 10), *consejamos* 1 (58, 21).
fijo 6 (51, 17; etc.).
gasajado 1 (58, 32; = Ger. **gasalho**).
mejor, mijor 3 (52, 40; 56, 9; 54, 15), *mejoradas* 1 (54, 12).
semejante 2 (51, 3; 58, 4), *semejança* 3 (51, 32; 53, 36; 53, 38).

Arabic *ǵīm* gave Old Spanish *j*:

alfajas 1 (52, 7). From *al-hadža.*
javaly 1 (58, 4). From *džabali.*

Old Spanish *j* substituted for *g* before *e, i*:

escojydos 1 (52, 14).
jestos 1 (51, 19).
lynaje 1 (57, 26); cf. 50, 2 *lynage.*

Old Spanish *j* = Old French or Provençal *dž*.

joas 1 (52, 35 = *joyas*); see *Archiv f. lat. Lexikographie*, II, 431.
lysonjauan 1 (59, 36), *lysonjero* 3 (55, 44; 56, 5).
lysonjas 1 (59, 19).
manjares 1 (56, 11).

Latin **j** and **dj** (i.e. **dy**) gave Old Spanish *y*:

mayor 3 (51, 1; etc.).
ayuda 1 (55, 1).
ayunasen 1 (57, 15).

Latin **g** gave Old Spanish *g(e, i)*:

gentes 1 (59, 11).
gimiendo 1 (51, 8), *gemidos* 2 (53, 19; 58, 23).

johan 2 (444, 25; 446, 12), *iohan* 4 (446, 14; 448, ll. 14, 17; 449, 7).
judgar, etc. 12 (460, 9; 471, 3; etc.), *iudgar* 1 (490, 16).
juizio 9 (511, 24; 518, 14; etc.).
justiçia, *justiçiero* 8 (444, 9; 492, 30; 493, 1; etc.).
jurar 2 (446, 8; 491, 2).

Latin **c'l** (and **t'l**, through **cl**) gave Old Spanish *j*:

aparejar, etc. 6 (460, 6; 474, 4; 484, 13; 510, 22; 514, ll. 4, 8).
avejas 1 (497, 12).
biejos 1 (513, 5).
conejo 2 (496, 15; 500, 28).
grajas 1 (502, 20), *grajuelas* 1 (502, 20).
ojo 2 (464, 17; 472, 21).
ovejas 1 (496, 26).
piojos 1 (497, 15) = * **peduc'los**; see *Archiv f. lat. Lexikographie*, IV, 431.
rest[*r*]*ojos* 1 (504, 1) = *rastrojos*.
trabajo, *trabajar* 9 (443, 2; etc.), if from * **trabac'lum**.
vermejo 2 (502, 20; 509, 16).

Latin **ly** gave Old Spanish *j*:

consejo, *consejar*, etc., *consejero* 28 (445, 8; 462, 2; etc.).
coscojos (= **cuscolium**) 1 (509, 1).
fijo, *fija* 68 (445, 5; etc.).
foja 3 (489, ll. 11, 13, 17).
mejor 27 (447, 13; etc.).
semejar, *semejança* 43 (444, 29; 454, 9; etc.).
sumurgujones 1 (504, 4). From * **submergulius**.
tajar, etc. 3 (444, ll. 4, 6, 11).
trabajo, *trabajar*, etc. 9 (443, 2; etc), if from * **trepalium**.

Arabic *ǵīm* gave Old Spanish *j*:

aljofares 1 (513, 3) = *al-dżohar*.
jaualies 1 (496, 11) = *dżabalî*.
naranjos 1 (509, 3) = *nârandż*.

Old Spanish *j* (*a*) substituted for *g*(*e*, *i*):

escoja 1 (465, 7), *escojan* 1 (492, 8). The substitution has also

taken place before *e* in *escogen* 1 (464, 6) and *vejeçio* 1 (454, 15 = **Vegetius**).

Basque **y** apparently gave Old Spanish *j*:

guijas 1 (p. 513, l. 8), referred by Larramendi to Basque **eguiya**.[1] An old Iberian word with initial **y** might, like Latin words with initial **j**, have given an Old Spanish *j*, but one with intervocalic *y* could hardly have produced that result.

Latin **t'c** gave, through Old French or Provençal *dž*, Old Spanish *j*:

abantaja 1 (476, 20).

Latin **dy** gave Old Spanish *j*:

enojo, *enojar* 12 (p. 443, ll. 4, 19; etc.).

jornadas 1 (462, 31). In the former case there is no direct Spanish development of *dž* from intervocalic **dy**, which could regularly yield only *y* in Spain. *Enojo*, *enojar* probably show the influence of *ojo* (**oculum**), as Baist suggests (*Grundriss*, I, 704). *Jornada* may be a loan-word; cf. Gröber (*Archiv f. lat. Lexikographie*, VI, 385): "Da im Spanischen **deorsum** zu *yuso* wird, jam zu *ya*, ist es zweifelhaft, ob span. port. *jornada* einheimisch ist. Auch fehlt span. port. **diurnus** selbst." Meyer-Lübke's § 407 (*Rom. Gramm.*, I) does not cover this case.

Words of uncertain source:

esmerejones 3 (501, 10; 502, 2; 504, 15). See Körting, 5265.

sauejos 1 (496, 17). See Körting, 7349.

Latin **j** (*a*, *o*, *u*) gave Old Spanish *y*:

yazen 1 (503, 27), *mayor* 46, *ayuda* 6 (476, ll. 26, 27; etc.), *ayuntar* 2 (449, 16; 467, 37), *ayuntamiento* 1 (517, 27).

Latin **g** gave Old Spanish *g*(*e*, *i*):

angel 9 (470, 2; etc.).

argen (= **argentum**) 1 (516, 7).

corregimiento 1 (514, 21).

e[*n*]*geños* 1 (445, 12).

---

[1] Larramendi, *Diccionario del Castellano, Bascuence y Latin* (1745).

engendrar, etc. 9 (482, 8; etc.).
general 1 (449, 19).
gente 29.
girifalte 2 (501, 26; 504, 15).
legitimo 1 (445, 5).
logicos 1 (468, 13).
virgen 1 (490, 12).

Latin **ly** gave Old Spanish *g(e)*:

ageno 4 (491, ll. 9, 10, 22; 499, 17).
gelo (frequent).
muger 2 (453, 9; 491, 9).

Latin **t'c** gave, through Old French or Provençal *dž*, Old Spanish *g(e)*:

linage 2 (445, 5; 482, 28).

Latin **vy** gave, through Old French or Provençal, Old Spanish *g(e)*:

ligero, *ligereza* 11 (452, 15; etc.). The regular Spanish development of **vy** is *y*: *hoya* = **foveam.**

Old Spanish *g(e)* = Old Spanish *j(a, o)*:

envegeçe 1 (488, 21), *envegeçen* 1 (488, 20); cf. 513, 5 *biejos*.

(*J*) *Steinbuch.*

Latin **j** gave Old Spanish *j*, *i*:

jaçinto 8 (8, 23; 15, 9; etc.).
jaspe 5 (6, ll. 13, 14, 24; 7, 7; 27, 4), *iaspe* 1 (7, 4).
Jesu 2 (9, 20; 12, 24).
juntos 1 (5, 13), *juntadas* 1 (29, 27).
Jupiter 1 (25, 19).
iustas 1 (16, 9).

Latin **c'l** gave Old Spanish *j*:

abejas 1 (30, 27).
anejo 'stale' (* **anniculum**) 1 (32, 24).
aparejado 1 (6, 1).
bermejo 2 (13, 7; 23, 9), *bermejo* 1 (29, 1).
espejo 1 (32, 6), *espeio* 1 (30, 12).

ojo 13 (10, 26; etc.), *oios* 1 (8, 6).
paja 13 (9, ll. 8, 23; etc.).
trabajo 5 (cf. above, p. 137)..
uiejas 1 (6, 2).

Latin **ly** gave Old Spanish *j*, *i*:

despojos 1 (20, 18).
fijo 3.
foja 2 (5, 1; 11, 5).
mejor 5 (6, 16; etc.), *meior* 1 (7, 17).
semejar, etc., *semejable*, *semejança* 20 (4, ll. 5, 21; etc.), *semeiable* 6 (5, 13; 7, 12; 28, ll. 1, 24, 27; 29, 9).
trabajo 5 (2, 24; etc.).

Old French or Provençal *dž* gave Old Spanish *j*:

lisonjar 1 (9, 14).
manjar 2 (26, ll. 7, 8).

Anomalous or obscure:

barajas 1 (13, 1).
sobrepujar, etc. 4 (5, 27; 9, 26; 10, 6; 23, 24). If the basis of this verb is ***pulsiare**, then it is our first example of the confusion of *x* and *j*; cf. *enpuxando*, etc., in the *A. J. & B.*[1] The words may not be connected.

Latin **j** gave Old Spanish *y*:

mayor 10, *yaziente* 1 (10, 13); *ayudar*, etc. 10 (= **dj**, i.e. **dy**), *ayuntar* 4 (25, 2; 10, 4; 21, 8; 25, 9).

Latin **g** gave Old Spanish *g*:

caligine 1 (32, 15).
egregia 2 (2, 7; 7, 13).

---

[1] See above, pp. 121 ff., and below, p. 146. The *Estoria de los quatro doctores* also has *sobrepujar* and *sobrepujamiento*, p. 6, l. 26; 14, 17; 37, 24; etc. *Puxar*, *empuxar* = 'to push,' 'urge': *sobrepujar* = 'to rise above,' 'excel,' 'outbid' (used intransitively and transitively). The words seem thus to stand apart, and *sobrepujar* has an air of relationship with **podium**, which regularly gave *poyo* in Spanish. It may be a loan-word pointing to ***podiare**; cf. It. *poggio*, *poggiare*, Prov. *pueg*, *pujar*.

Egipto 1 (29, 10).
engendrar, etc. 17 (4, 12; etc.).
genero 9 (2, 29; etc.).
gente 1 (11, 13).
gentile 1 (33, 19).
fingidos 1 (22, 1).
fulgente 1 (23, 29).
geminis 1 (26, 12).
Germania 2 (28, ll. 21, 27).
legitimo 1 (30, 1).
magico 9 (3, 9; etc.).
pungiendo 1 (31, 2); here *ngi* may mean *ñ*.
region 4 (1, 4; etc.).
ymagenes 1 (32, 6).

Latin **j**(*e*) gave Old Spanish *g*(*e*):

magestad 1 (1, 9). The word, not entirely suitable to the context, may be a mistake.

Latin **ly** gave Old Spanish *g*(*e*):

gelo, etc. (regularly).
muger 11 (6, 5; etc.).

Old French or Provençal *dž* (Latin **t'c, vy**) gave Old Spanish *g*:

linage 4 (13, 14; 18, 13; 23, 5).
mensagera 1 (25, 18).
ligero 3 (17, 17; 18, 18; 26, 19).

Obscure words:

ligirio 3 (24, ll. 25, 27; 25, 12).
lingite 2 (26, ll. 23, 24).

(*K*) *Caza.*

Latin **j** gave Old Spanish *j*, *i*:

Johannete 1 (58, 3), *iohan* 118 (2, 26; etc.).
judios 3 (1, ll. 14, 15; 82, 17).
juyzios 1 (2, 9).
judgaria 1 (13, 29).

junto 1 (79, 15).
juncares 1 (83, 3).

Latin c'l gave Old Spanish *j*:

aguja 3 (64, ll. 25, 26).
aparejado 1 (75, 4).
bermejo 3 (12, 20; 13, 26; 58, 20).
conejos 1 (69, 10).
cornejas 1 (6, 14).
ojo 22.
oreja 3 (11, 13; 57, ll. 27, 29), *pestorejo* 1 (12, 23).
oueja 2 (60, 21; 62, 28).
paja 1 (18, 9).
piojos 1 (47, 17).
sortija 1 (49, 8).
trabajar 5 (59, 24; etc.).
viejo 2 (48, 9; 81, 8).
vondejo (?) 4 (63, ll. 12, 22; 64, ll. 1, 2) = * **buticulum** under influence of **fundus**, * **fundiculum** (?).

Latin g'l gave Old Spanish *j*:

teja 1 (49, 1; = **tegulam**).

Latin ly gave Old Spanish *j*:

consejo 1 (27, 14).
fijo 7 (1, 2; etc.).
mejor 75 (3, 23; etc.).
mojar 9 (27, 11; etc.).
semejar, etc. 5 (35, 16; etc.).
sobrecejas 1 (12, 24).
tajar, etc. 3 (32, 4; etc.).
trabajar 5 (59, 24; etc.).
yjadas 2 (9, 13; 13, 3; = * **iliatas**).

Arabic *ǧīm* gave Old Spanish *j*:

almarjal, *marjal* 15 (40, 30; 41, 28; 68, 30; 70, ll. 2, 7, 12, 28, 30; 72, 12; 75, 12; 76, 21; 78, 14; 79, 13; 83, 3; 84, 12).

Dozy and Engelmann, s.v. *almarcha*, which is the modern form of the word, give the source *al-mardž* 'meadow-land,' 'field.'

jauali 2 (69, ll. 11, 14); = *džabalī*.

Old Spanish *j*(*a*) substituted for Old Spanish *g*(*e*, *i*):

acoja 1 (41, 28).

Latin **t'c** gave, through Old French or Provençal *dž*, Old Spanish *j*:

auantaja 3 (42, 23; 43, 1; 85, 15).
lenguaje 1 (1, 8).
plumaje 1 (8, 24; cf. *plumage*, p. 4, l. 14; etc.).

Latin initial **g**(*a*) gave, through Old French, Old Spanish *j*:

jauola 1 (46, 15); = Latin **gaveola**; see *Archiv f. lat. Lexikographie*, II, 435.

Latin **by** gave, through Old French or Provençal, Old Spanish *i*, *j*:

loma 1 (21, 25), *lonja* 2 (49, 9); = * **lumbeam**; see *Archiv f. lat. Lexikographie*, III, 517.

Latin **dy**, perhaps influenced by **c'l**, gave Old Spanish *j*:

enojar, etc. 7 (15, 25; 19, 17; etc.).

Basque *y* gave Old Spanish *j*:

guyjas 1 (49, 25), *guyjuelas* 1 (58, 18). See above, p. 138.

Words of uncertain source:

desgajar 2 (64, 18; 64, 20; = an **-aliare** verb [?]). See Diez, *Wörterb.*, s.v. *gajo*.

esmerejones 2 (43, 14; 67, 7; see Körting, 5265). Here are to be mentioned a number of place-names, some of which are very likely of Arabic origin:

alualdejo 1 (74, 12).
borjarraual 1 (88, 19).
calataojar 2 (86, 17; 89, 10).
cantalojas 1 (87, 14).
cascajo 1 (83, 8).
castillejo 1 (81, 23; = **-iculum** (?).
finojosa 4 (77, ll. 14, 20, 24, 28).
jaualera 2 (84, ll. 21, 22).

montaluanejo 1 (77, 14).
ojuelo 1 (74, 11).
oradejo 1 (86, 1).
parejuela 1 (73, 10).
sorrajo 1 (72, 14).
tajo 2 (73, 10; 88, 29).
tajuña 1 (89, 8).
vilarejo 1 (76, 18).

Latin **j** or **dy** gave Old Spanish *y*:

mayor 22.
yazen 3 (35, 30; 36, ll. 1, 26).
ayudar, etc. 4 (42, 25; 42, 29; 7, 24; 33, 4; = **dy**).

Latin **g** gave Old Spanish *g(e, i)*:

acoger 1 (25, 9).
Cartageña 6 (70, 6; etc.).
engendra 1 (54, 8).
gente 10 (16, 8; etc.).
girifalte 24 (4, 10; etc.).
logica 1 (1, 9).
theologia 1 (1, 9).

Latin **ly** gave Old Spanish *g(e)*:

gelo, etc. regularly.

Arabic *ǵīm* gave Old Spanish *g(e, i)*:

algibe 1 (79, 10) = *al-dżūb* 'a well.'
The place-name *Algeziella* (p. 88, l. 27) may also be Arabic.

Old French or Provençal *dž* gave Old Spanish *g(e)*:

ligero, ligereza 18 (5, 15; etc.).
monge 2 (74, 12; 77, 3).
plumage 16 (4, 14; etc.).

Old Spanish *g(e)* used with the value of *gu(e, i)*:

alberge (from *albergar*) 1 (35, 27), *llege* 2 (23, 20; 25. 23; cf. 33, 7 *llegue*), *llegen* 1 (83, 19), *longen* 1 (10, 29), *Rodriges* 1 (42, 17).

(*L*) *A. J. & B.*

Latin j gave Old Spanish *j*:

jamas 5 (355, 44; etc.).
jesu 2 (332, 32; 358, 3), *Iesu* 63.
subjetos 1 (385, 9).
josafat 1 (332, 31), *Iosaphat*, *Iosafat* 127.
Iudios 3 (371, ll. 1, 2, 13).
jugando 1 (376, 32), *juego* 3 (335, 31; 349, 4; 381, 8).
juntaron 1 (386, 21).
Iupiter 3 (369, ll. 33, 35, 36).
jurar 2 (388, 18; 389, 5), *juramento* 1 (354, 32).
justo 7 (345, 11; etc.), *justiçia* 5 (352, 41; etc.).
juyzio 4 (336, 3; etc.), *juzgar* 3 (344, 38; etc.).
With 390, 31 *ajuntaua*, 377, 2 *ajuntamiento*, cf. the regular forms with *y*, *ayuntar*, *ayuntamiento* 335, 23; 336, 22; 338, 4; etc.

Latin c'l gave Old Spanish *j*:

aparajar, *aparejar*, etc., 14 (338, 42; etc.).
ojo 36 (336, 29; etc.).
oreja 10 (341, 21; etc.).
oveja 7 (347, 26; etc.).
trabajar 41.
viejo, *vejez*, etc. 61.
ynojo 3 (357, 9; 379, 12; 389, 43).

Latin ly gave Old Spanish *j*, *i*:

ajo 1 (370, 41).
cerrajas 1 (343, 24).
consejo, *consejero*, *consejar* 51 (332, 20; etc.).
despojar, etc. 4 (338, 39; etc.).
fijo, *fija* 146.
foja 2 (375, 17; 379, 16).
mejor 10 (335, 21).
mojaua 1 (394, 30).
mortaja 1 (387, 29).
pegujar 1 (344, 25).

rremasajas 1 (347, 17; = * **rema(n)salias**).
semejar, etc. 57.
somorguia 1 (355, 32).
tajar, etc. 19.
trabajar, etc. 41.

Latin **g**(*e*) gave Old Spanish *j*(*e*):

jesto 1 (377, 1).

Old French or Provençal *dž* gave Old Spanish *j*:

mensajero 2 (335, 26; 360, 31).
manjar 8 (348, 27; etc.).

Latin **dy** influenced by **c'l** gave Old Spanish *j*:

enoja 1 (380, 15).

Anomalous and obscure:

baraja 1 (356, 36). See Diez, *Wörterb.*, I, *baro;* Du Cange, *barreiare.*
sobrepujar 5 (354, 38; 355, 38; 356, 29; 359, 38; 387, 13); see above, p. 140, n. 1.
tarajado 1 (357, 8).

Latin **j** gave Old Spanish *y*:

ayuda, *ayudar*, etc. (350, ll. 10, 13, 14; etc.).
ayunar 2 (348, 28; 357, 36; = * **jajunare**; see *Archiv f. lat. Lexikographie*, III, 141.
ayuntar (335, 23; 336, 22; etc.; = **dy**).
mayor, *mayoral* 19.
yazida, *yazer* 4 (363, 37; 369, 2; 377, 7; 388, 36).

Latin **g** gave Old Spanish *g*(*e*, *i*):

angel, *angilical* 5 (335, 7; etc.).
astrologia 2 (337, 11; 361, 1).
diligençia, *diligentemente* 9 (340, 23; etc.).
Egipto, *Egipçiano* 3 (333, 34; etc.).
emagen, *ymagen* 6 (344, 16; etc.).
engendrar, *generaçion* 12 (337, 19; etc.).
engenio 2 (339, 33; 355, 9).

escoger, etc. 15 (340, 22; etc.).
euangelio, *euangelizar* 7 (355, 4).
gela (= **gelat**) 1 (369, 10).
gemir, *gimiento* 6 (341, 10; etc.).
gente 7 (335, 6; etc.), *gentiles* 1 (371, 11; etc.).
magico 4 (374, 26; etc.).
negligente 7 (342, 8; etc.).
refugio 2 (366, 11; 391, 15).
rreligion, etc. 5 (337, 9; etc.).
rresurgiendo 1 (344, 36), *rresurgio* 1 (371, 17).
rrifrigerio 4 (353, 30; etc.).
sagitario 2 (345, 20; 345, 22).
silegismos 1 (372, 5).
vnigenito 5 (344, 7; etc.).
vigilias 1 (348, 31).
virgen 4 (344, 34; etc.).

Latin **ly** gave Old Spanish *g(e)*:

ageno, *agenar* 5 (357, 3; 358, 26; etc.).
gelo (339, 39; etc.).
muger, *moger*, *mugier*, *mogier* 23 (334, 4; 343, 13; etc.).

Old French or Provençal *dž* gave Old Spanish *g(e)*:

ligero 2 (389, 25; 393, 26).
linage 9 (344, 29; 347, 3; etc.).
menge (= **medicus**) 6 (337, 40; 338, 36; etc.).
monge 19 (332, 16; etc.).

Old Spanish *g(e, i)* used with the value of *gu(e, i)*:

enbarge 1 (393, 12); *enbriagez* 1 (390, 23; cf. 370, 20 *enbriaguez*); *enuergençen* 1 (391, 20); *llege* 1 (364, 19; cf. 366, 28 *alleguen*); *plogiere* 1 (353, 27), *plogieron* 1 (379, 28); *mager* 7 (371, 11; etc.; cf. 378, 9 and 393, 34 *maguer*); *sygimiento* 1 (333, 19), *persigimos* 1 (337, 9), *persigido* 1 (338, 8), *segieron* 1 (357, 26), *sigieres* 1 (357, 27), *segimiento* 1 (360, 40), *segiente* 1 (363, 24), *sygiente* 1 (366, 20), *segid* 1 (389, 23), *segian* 1 (390, 11), cf. 338, 42, etc. *seguir*.

(*M*) *Laberinto* (end of 16th and beginning of 17th centuries):

Latin j gave Old Spanish *j*, *i*:

injuria 1 (43, 39).
Iacinto 1 (19, 4).
jaque (= **Jacob**) 1 (61, 15).
jamas 6 (22, 31; etc.).
Iesus 4 (56, 69).
Iuana 4 (9, 1; etc.).
juego 2 (60, 11; 74, 8), *jugando* 1 (74, 7).
juncos 2 (21, 2; 62, 61).
juntar, etc. 6 (7, 40; etc.).
jurar, etc. 6 (no. 7, ll. 6, 9; etc.), *juramento* 3 (49, 61; 55, 26; 59, 33), *iuramento* 1 (27, 61).
justa 1 (48, 33), *iustas* 1 (29, 17), *injusto* 1 (42, 18), *ajusto* 1 (45, 18).
juyzio 1 (49, 45), *juezes* 1 (21, 7), *juzgar* 3 (51, 5; etc.).

Latin c'l gave Old Spanish *j*:

abrojos (= **aperi oculos**) 1 (16, 7).
aguja 2 (20, 37; 72, 48).
aparejar 1 (34, 3).
callejon 1 (62, 16).
espejo 2 (23, 26; 67, 24).
ojo, *ojuelo*, *antojar*, etc. regularly.
paja 1 (61, 12).
pellejo 1 (43, 59).
trabajo 2 (28, 12; 29, 12).
viejo 2 (46, 4; 72, 10).

Latin g'l gave Old Spanish *j*:

quajadas 1 (36, 58) from ***coagulatas**.
reja 3 (no. 60, vv. 14, 50, 54) from **regulam**; cf. no. 14, l. 16 *rexas*, which shows *x* and *j* confounded at the beginning of the 17th century.

Latin **ly** gave Old Spanish *j*:

ceja 5 (48, 23; etc.).

consejos 1 (56, 64).
despojos 2 (11, 9; 53, 17).
hijo, *hija* 6 (56, 9; etc.).
hoja 3 (26, 21; etc.).
mejor 7 (3, 38).
mortaja 1 (25, 17).
remojado 1 (74, 17).
trabajo 2.

Arabic *ǵīm* gave Old Spanish *j*, *i*:

aljofar 1 (31, 24) = *al-dżohar*.
jarros 1 (36, 52) = *dżarra*.
jauali 1 (40, 38), *iauali* 1 (40, 49).
Cf. the place-name *Aranjuez* (64, 8) and the name of the river *Tejo* 5 (23, 4; etc.), *Tajo* 2 (29, 48; 39, 6).

Arabic *yāy* gave Old Spanish *j*:

jazmin 4 (9, 5; 16, 8; 31, 6; 68, 24: Dozy and Engelmann, p. 291: "De l'arabe-persan . . ." (*yâçemîn*). The word must have entered Spanish early enough for Arabic initial *y* to receive the treatment of Latin initial *j*.

Old Spanish *j*(*o*) substituted for *g*(*e*, *i*):

finjo 1 (38, 20); cf. no. 19, v. 24 *fingido*.

Latin **dy** under the influence of **c'l** gave Old Spanish *j*:

enojar, etc. 7 (2, vv. 27, 28; 11, 18; etc.).

Old French or Provençal *dž* gave Old Spanish *j*:

jardines 1 (64, 19).
joyas 2 (72, vv. 15, 51).
lisonjas 1 (57, 19).
mensajeros 1 (60, 31).

Old Spanish *j* and *x* confused:

pajares 1 (48, 26; cf. no. 49, v. 19 *paxarillos*).
Just as *x* appeared for *j* in *rexas*, *j* now appears for *x* in *pajares*. Conventional rules of orthography have kept the two signs rigidly apart, even in this late text, but it is evident that *j* and *x* now

denote the same or a very similar sound, or they could not be confounded in these two words. In them *j* seems to have lost its dental element and its voiced quality, so that it has become merely *š*, a sound which Old Spanish had regularly expressed by *x*.

Words of obscure origin:

arrojo 2 (no. 45, vv. 27, 31). In *Romania*, XII, 108, Cuervo says that this verb does not appear in Castilian before the 16th century, and is probably a loan-word from Catalan *arruxar* = ***arroscidare**. Gröber notes this explanation, without dissenting from it, in *Ztschr. f. rom. Phil.*, VIII, 319. If the proposed source is to be accepted, the form *arrojo* is another example of the confusion of *x* and *j*.

barajas 1 (36, 26). See Diez and Du Cange as above, p. 146.

Latin **j** gave Old Spanish *y*:

mayor 7 (7, 30; etc), *Troya* 1 (7, 19), *ayudar*, etc. 7 (2, 18; etc.; = **dy**).

Latin **g** gave Old Spanish *g*(*e*, *i*):

afligir 3 (17, 18; etc.).
angel 3 (4, 21; etc.).
coger, etc. 17 (9, 38; etc.).
engendra 2 (25, 11; 64, 13).
fingido 1 (19, 24).
gente 1 (12, 29).
gigante 2 (33, 29; 48, 16).
giron 1 (25, 22).
imagen, *imaginar* 6 (25, 12; etc.).
legitimo 1 (29, 39).
margen 1 (17, 2).
regidas 1 (41, 2).
region 2 (25, 30; 43, 19).
virgen 2 (56, 50; 72, 17).

Latin **ly** gave Old Spanish *g*(*e*):

ageno 11 (4, 12; etc.).
muger 5 (55, 13; etc.).

Latin j(*e*) gave Old Spanish *g*(*e*) :

magestad 1 (36, 42).

sugeto, *sugetar* 7 (1, 20; etc.). Such cases as these evidence the tendency to restrict the use of *j* to the position before *a*, *o*, *u*.

Old French or Provençal *dž* gave Old Spanish *g*(*e*) :

estrangero 1 (17, 4); cf. Meyer-Lübke, *Gramm.*, I, § 512.

lenguage 1 (65, 51).

Words of uncertain source or anomalous in form:

Argel 2 (no. 34, v. 5, 6).

Mongibelo 1 (24, 54).

Genifao 1 (74, 6).

giuao 1 (74, 38). Is it the Spanish *gibado?*

zelogias 3 (14, vv. 20, 25; 36, 30); cf. *Cid*, vv. 2239, 2241 *eclegia* (cf. Menéndez Pidal's ed., p. 69, n. 4). Baist (*Grundriss*, I, 703) sees in such cases a late popular treatment of **-sy-**. For *zelogia* we may also take into account the influence of *teologia* and the like forms.

Conclusion.

X, on the one side, and *j*, *g*(*e*, *i*) on the other, are seen to have been strictly kept asunder, except in some very few instances in our latest text (beginning of 17th century). Their sources are also entirely distinct.

X represents

Latin (Gk.) **x**,

Latin **sty**,

Latin **ssy** (**psy**),

Arabic **šīn**,

Latin **x** introduced into the prefix **in(s)-** through confusion with **ex-**,

Old French or Provençal final *ž*(*ge*). Apparently also, in a few cases,

Latin **sc**(*e*, *i*), and possibly

Latin **scy**,

Latin initial **s** with a probable Arabic influence upon the sound.

Rejected sources are Latin **ps**, **sy**, **t'l**, **d'l**.

J represents

Latin **j**,[1]
Latin **ly**,
Latin **c'l** and **g'l**,
Arabic **ǵīm**,
Arabic initial **yāy**,
Old French or Provençal *dž*, and is substituted for Old Spanish *g*(*e*, *i*) before *a*, *o*, *u*, and very rarely before *e* (*jesto*).

G(*e*, *i*) represents a number of the same sources:

Latin **g**(*e*, *i*) in learned forms,
Latin **ly**(*e*, *i*),
Arabic **ǵīm**,
Old French or Provençal *dž*, and is substituted for Old Spanish *j* before *e*, *i*.

The voiceless palatal *š* value of *x* admits of no doubt. In transcribed documents it is denoted by Arabic and Hebrew *šīn*. Similarly in the *Vocabulista* of Pedro de Alcalá and in the *Astronomía* of Alfonso el Sabio, it is itself used to represent *šīn*. The grammarians cited by Cuervo (*Revue hispanique*, II, 53 f.) liken its sound to that of the Italian *sc* before *e*, *i* and that of the French *ch*. At the beginning of the 16th century Cardinal Cisneros wrote *Xebres* for *Chievres* and much later Quevedo still wrote *Xatillon* for *Chatillon*. So also Avila y Çúñiga employed *x* to represent the sound of German *sch* in *Xuarezbalt* = *Schwarzwald*, *Xertel* = *Schärtlin*, *Xneiberg* = *Schneeberg*. The French *Quichotte* and the Italian *Chisciotte* still retain the old pronunciation.[2] Of a piece with the grammatical notices excerpted by Cuervo is the passage of the Ἑλληνισμός of the Italian scholar Canini (1521–1557), cited by Havet in *Romania*, IV, 401, apropos of Joret's arguments on the value of *x* (see *Du C dans les langues romanes*, pp. 213 ff.): "Hispani *x* pronunciant vt *sc*, *exemplo*, *xabon* vt si scriberetur *escemplo*, *sciabon*."

[1] See p. 128, note 1.

[2] Cf. also the *Chimène* of Corneille's *Cid*, and the English *sherry* (= Old Spanish *Xeres*).

Some interesting American testimony to the Old Spanish *š* value of *x* should not be overlooked. R. Lenz (*Ztschr. f. rom. Phil.*, XVII, 189) remarks as follows: "Die heutige scharfe Unterscheidung von nur zwei *s*-lauten, nämlich *θ* (stimmloser interdentaler Reibelaut) und *s* (stimmloser meist apicosupraalveolarer Reibelaut) ist nach meiner Ueberzeugung sehr jung und verdankt ihre von Castilien ausgehende Verbreitung über das ganze Königreich wohl lediglich dem Schulunterricht. . . . Nach alle dem ist es nur durch steten Zusammenhang mit dem Mutterlande, vor allem durch den Zuzug von Beamten und Missionären erklärlich, dass überhaupt das Spanische in Amerika wesentlich dieselbe Entwicklung genommen hat wie auf dem europäischen Festlande; ich denke hierbei insbesondere an die Entwicklung des modernen jota (*x*) aus dem im Amerikanischen des 16. und vielleicht noch des 17. Jhs. (wenigstens seiner ersten Jahrzehnte) vielfach nachweisbaren *š*, von dem sich jedoch, soweit mir bis jetzt bekannt, heute im Amerikanospanischen keine Reste mehr finden."

To similar evidence based upon Mexican peculiarities my attention has been called by Professor Sheldon, who had prepared a note upon the subject several years before the appearance of Lenz's article on South American peculiarities. W. von Humboldt, *Ueber die Verschiedenheit des menschlichen Sprachbaues* (ed. of Berlin, 1876), Vol. II, p. 176, note, states that in the native Mexican he found the word for Castile written *Caxtil*, and in the related Cora speech the Spanish *pesar* represented by *pexuvi*. The pronunciation of the *x* he found to be that of "ein starker Zischlaut, wenn sich auch nicht genau angeben lässt, in welchem Grade derselbe sich unserem *sch* nähert." This use of *x* with the value of *š* can be due only to its adoption as a sign for the native sound at a time when this Spanish letter had that same value. Humboldt's statement is supported by the affirmation of F. Pimentel, in his *Cuadro descriptivo y comparativo de las lenguas indígenas de México* (Mexico, 1862), p. 165, that in the native Mexican, that is, the Nahuatl or Aztec, "la *x* suena como *sh* inglesa ó *ch* francesa." Compare this remark from the extract on the language of Texas (*El texano ó coahuilteco*), which Pimentel takes from the *Manual para administrar los santos sacramentos* of the Padre B. García (Mexico, 1760): "La *s* y *h* así (*sh*) juntas, indica que no se pronuncia la *s* como en nuestro castellano: sino encorvando y enco-

giendo la punta de la lengua para que no suene como *s* sola; y bastará que se pronuncie como la *x* en latin, cuando decimos *xaverius*" (Pimentel, l.c., II, 411).

The composite nature of *j*, *g*(*e*, *i*), as a voiced dental stop + a voiced palatal sibilant, is made patent by the fact that in transcription it is rendered by Arabic *ǵīm* and Hebrew *gimel* or *zayin* (each with a diacritic) all apparently meaning *dž*. If the modern guttural pronunciation of *j*, *g*(*e*, *i*) had existed in the time of Alcalá, he would not have been obliged to invent a sign whereby to convey the sound of Arabic *ghain* (= χ),[1] so that Araujo's argument for the antiquity of the present pronunciation (F. Araujo, *Estudios de Fonétika kastetana*, Santiago de Chile, 1894, p. 59) cannot be sustained. Alcalá regularly employs *j*, *g*(*e*, *i*) to transcribe *ǵīm*. As Cuervo notes,[2] the grammarians Valdés (*circa* 1540), Ulloa (1553), and Casas (1570) compare *j*, *g*(*e*, *i*) to the Italian *g*(*e*, *i*); the *Vtil y breve institution* (1555) asserts an equivalence with the French *j*, the *Gramatica de la lengua vulgar de España* (1559) with both the French *j*, *g*(*e*, *i*) and the Italian *g*(*e*, *i*). It has been seen above that *j* and *g*(*e*, *i*) represent a *j*, *g*(*e*, *i*) of loan-words from France, probably taken into Spanish at a time when the borrowed sound was still *dž*. Old French *dž* became *ž* in the 13th century (Suchier, *Grundriss*, I, 586), so that, in Old French words adopted after that time, *j*, *g*(*e*, *i*) could represent only an original *ž*. In its native words, however, Spanish must have been more tenacious of the dental element in *dž* than French was, since, in the voiceless form of this sound, *tš* (written *ch*), it still keeps the dental.

Certainly as early as the middle of the 16th century the confusion of *x* and *j*, *g*(*e*, *i*) began, as a result of a change in the latter sound, which lost both its voiced quality and its stop element, and thereby became *š*. Whether the unvoicing preceded the loss of the stop, or *vice versa*, it is hardly possible to say with absolute certainty. Assuming that Spanish favored the retention of dental sounds, as it

---

[1] See Cuervo, l.c., p. 54; Diez, *Gramm.* (Fr. trans.), I, 306; W. Sander, *Ztschr. f. rom. Phil.*, XIII, 320; Dozy and Engelmann, *Glossaire*, p. 16.

[2] *Revue hispanique*, II, 55.

has done in the case of *ch* = *tš*, and that it early showed its very marked repugnance for voiced sibilants, we might consider the development to be *dž–tš–š*. But, proceeding on this theory, we should expect to find some confusion of a written *j*, *g*(*e*, *i*), having the transition value *tš*, with the written *ch* = *tš*. No such confusion occurs, however. On the contrary, Cornu (*Romania*, X, 588 f.) cites rhymes from Gil Vicente and Camoens tending to show an equivalence of Spanish *j* and Portuguese *j* = *ž* in the 16th century, which would imply the development *dž–ž–š*.[1] As intervocalic *s* was probably voiced as late as 1492, when the Jews were exiled, the general unvoicing of sibilants can hardly have taken place before the beginning of the 16th century, and therefore, considering this rhyme evidence, it seems fair to assume that, in this particular sibilant, the stop element was lost before the voiced nature of the sound disappeared. The latter assumption squares well with the fact that in the 16th century *j* and *x* (= *š*) were confused, while *j* and *ch* (= *tš*) were not then or at any time confused.[2]

From the middle of the 16th century on, the grammarians caution the careful against the confusion of *x* and *j*, *g*(*e*, *i*), and thus bear testimony to the great resemblance, if not complete identity of the sounds indicated by these letters. See Cuervo (l.c., pp. 56 ff.) for an excellent exposition of the grammatical evidence.[3] Salazar (1622), Minsheu (1623), and Franciosini (1638) ascribe to *j*, *g*(*e*, *i*) the value of Fr. *ch*, Eng. *sh*, and It. *sce*, *sci*, and assert the entire equivalence of *j*, *g*(*e*, *i*), and *x*. Though unnecessary, the following notes may, for completeness' sake, be added to Cuervo's citations.

R. Percyuall, *Bibliotheca Hispanica* (London, 1591): "*J*. Somewhat like the French in *Desja*, *joieux*, *jouer*, but best like the Hebrew [*šīn*] with his point on the right horn, or *sh* in English, as *ojo*, *osho*, *Hijo*, *hisho*, howbeit the Andaluz doth pronounce it rather like *zh*, as

---

[1] Cf. *Ztschr. f. rom. Phil.*, VI, 484. The value of the rhyme-test depends upon the assumption that, in the 16th century, Portuguese *j* meant *ž*.

[2] Meyer-Lübke, *Gramm.*, I, § 652, maintains this development: *ly–y–ǵ–ž–ź–ś* [not quite clear].

[3] Cuervo, l.c., p. 58, has also demonstrated the gradual confounding of *x* and *j*, by means of the rhyme-test.

ozho, hizho." . . . "*X.* Like the *j*, the affinitie being so great as the one is often written for the other, *Xara, shara, Lexia leshia, Quexar, keshar.*"

L. Owen, *The Key of the Spanish Tongue* (London, 1605): "*G.* This letter is sounded (if *e* or *i* immediately followe) as *gh* in English, especially as in the word *naught*, example, *viergen*, a virgin, sound it as if it were written *vierghen;* for the stranger findeth great difficultie in the sounding of this letter before *e* or *i*. For it is to be pronounced in the throate, as the auncient Brittaines pronounce *ch;* as by the word *goch* may appeare, or as the Dutchmen sound *ch*, as *nacht* for night, and finally you may sound it as the Greeke χ. Some men do sound this letter, when it is written before *e* or *i*, as *sh* in English, wherein they greatly erre. Neuertheless, they that cannot frame their tongues to the pronounciation of this letter, in such sort as I haue heretofore declared, must needs pronounce it (when it is written before *e* or *i*) as *sh* in English." . . . "*J larga.* It is sounded like the letter *g*, being ioined with *e* or *i*, of the which I haue made mention before." . . . "*X.* As I haue shewed you how to sound *j larga*, or *g* (when it is written before *e* or *i*), so you must sound this letter before or after any vowel; example, *abaxo*, belowe, *roxo*, red. Sound *abacho* as the auncient Brittaines or Dutchmen do."

J. Minsheu, *The Guide into the Tongves* (London, 1617): "*G.* Litera muta est, et duplicem habet pronuntiationem, ante *a*, *o* et *u* pronunciatur vt *Gabriel*, *Gorgias*, *Gula*, ante *e* et *i* vt Gal.: *ch*, Ital.: *sc*, Ang.: *sh.*" . . . "*J jota*, aut *j* consonans confunditur cum *x* et *g* et pronunciatur vt Gal.: *ch*, Ital.: *sc*, Angl.: *sh.*" . . . "*X* pronunciatur vt *j jota*, id est *j* consonante ac etiã Hispani scribunt *j jota* pro *x* et *x* pro *j jota.*"

Owen, writing at the beginning of the 17th century, finds no difference in sound between *j*, *g*(*e*, *i*), and *x*, and declares them to be properly pronounced as the guttural χ, viciously as the palatal *s*. Other testimony to the guttural sound, dating from a few years later than Owen's, is furnished by G. Schopp, *Institutiones grammaticae latinae* (1629), pp. 169, 186; Doergank, *Institutiones in linguam hispanicam* (1614); Sumeran, *Thesaurus linguarum* (Ingolstadt, 1626); Carlos Mulerio, *Linguae hispanicae compendiosa institutio* (Leyden,

1636), all mentioned by Cuervo (l.c., pp. 59, 60). Thus, from the statements of these writers, it is plain that by the beginning of the 17th century the modern guttural stage had been well established, although the conservatism of grammarians, who are seldom prone to welcome and record anything in the nature of an innovation, led many still to style *j*, *g*(*e*, *i*), and *x* palatal sibilants. The new pronunciation must have begun at least several decades before the end of the 16th century. In fact, Velasco, *Orthographia y Pronunciacion Castellana* describes, as early as 1582, what must certainly be regarded as a guttural sound: "Formase [la *g*] con el medio de la lengua inclinada al principio del paladar, no apegada á él ni arrimada á los dientes, que es como los estrangeros la pronuncian. . . . La voz castellana [de la *x*] es como la de la *g*, pero mas denso y metido a la garganta, es de las consonantes semivocales," etc. (see Diez, *Gramm.* French trans., I, 344; Viñaza, *Biblioteca*, etc., col. 1159; Cuervo, l.c., pp. 60. 56).

The method by which the palatal sibilant became a guttural is not entirely clear. Schuchardt, *Die Cantes flamencos* (*Ztschr. f. rom. Phil.*, V, 249 ff.; see esp. p. 315) says: "Das neuspan. χ = altspan. *ś* darf man nicht als ein Beispiel von Stellenvertauschung anführen; *ś* ist ein guttural-dentaler Laut, dessen Natur freilich noch nicht vollständig aufgehellt ist; indem die dentale Enge gelöst wird, bleibt der gutturale Reibelaut übrig." On the essential characteristics of *ś*, compare Storm, *Englische Philologie*, 2d ed., p. 72.

Meyer-Lübke, *Gramm.*, I, § 652, apparently holds the same opinion as Schuchardt: "Der Uebergang von *ś* [i.e. apparently *ś*] zu *ḣ* [i.e. χ] ist leicht erklärlich, er beruht auf einer Senkung der Zungenspitze, wodurch die dentale Enge gelöst wird."

But it is doubtful that a mere sinking of the point of the tongue constituted the whole process in the change of *ś* to a distinct guttural. Notwithstanding Schuchardt's contention it seems necessary to affirm an appreciable recession of the place of articulation. This, at any rate, is what W. Sander has assumed (*Ztschr. f. rom. Phil.*, XIII, 320): "Die Entstehung des jetzigen Reibelautes aus dem Zischlaut erklärt sich also durch eine Senkung der Zungenspitze, durch welche die vordere Enge und damit das characteristische Geräusch dieses Zischlautes verschwand. Im Laufe der Zeit ist

dann die Artikulationsstelle noch etwas weiter nach hinten gerückt," etc. Down into the present century, *x* continued to be used, by the side of *j* and *g*(*e*, *i*), as a guttural sign. Since 1815, however, and in obedience to a decree of the Academy, *j* has supplanted *x* in its guttural functions.

V. Aljamía Testimony.

As in *aljamiado* texts, i.e. Old Spanish texts written with Arabic characters, Arabic sibilants were used to transliterate the sounds here considered, although there were Arabic characters denoting sounds closer to the modern Spanish *θ* and *χ*, the sibilant nature of the Old Spanish sounds is plain. But overmuch stress has been laid upon the graphic usages of *aljamiado* texts, as affording information about the precise nature of the Old Spanish sibilants in every particular. Thus Meyer-Lübke (*Litbl. f. germ. u. rom. Phil.*, V, 279; *Gramm.*, I, § 568), arguing from the fact that the *Poema de José* renders Old Spanish final *z* by *zāy*, concludes that Old Spanish final *z* was voiced. Now, when utilizing for phonetic purposes evidence such as that presented by the *Poema de José*, one must seek to form an exact idea of the way in which the document in question came into being. Was it written from the very start in Arabic characters, or was it written in the usual Roman characters, and then, to meet the needs of a Mozarabic or other public unable to read them, recast with Arabic symbols?

If the latter be the case, it must be recognized that a transliterator may be governed by considerations not wholly phonetic in their nature. A conventional element may enter into his method of rendering his text, and having to employ *zāy* for *z* in the very large number of cases where the Old Spanish sound was undoubtedly the voiced one, he will adopt the general rule of always transliterating *z* by *zāy*, even though in the particular instance the Old Spanish sound be the voiceless one which would be better rendered by *ṣād* or *sīn*. It is not quite certain that the *José* was first written in Roman and then in Arabic characters, but some peculiarities give rise to the suspicion that it passed through such a process. For example, the *nūn* has been omitted in 105 *b*,[1] *en tiepo* for *en tienpo* (cf. 120 *d*, *tienpo*),

[1] Stanza 105, line 2.

and in 103 *d, que en salia*[1] for *que en salian*, and the omission is easily intelligible if we consider the scribe of the *José* as rendering literally the words of a manuscript in Roman characters, in which the nasal dash was sometimes lacking, a common enough occurrence in other Old Spanish documents.

Taking care not to emphasize unduly the phonological importance of the *José*, we may proceed to an examination of its treatment of the sibilants. In general, it may be said that it exhibits conditions similar to those of the texts already investigated, containing only a few variations which must be due chiefly to its probably late date, the second half of the 16th century (Morf, *José*, p. ix).

The following table sets forth the most obvious correspondences between the Old Spanish sounds and the Arabic characters of the *Poema de José*.

Consonants:

b	bā.	p	bā + tešdīd.
c = k	kāf.	qu(e, i)	kāf.
ç	sīn.	q(ua)	kāf.
d	dāl.	r	rā.
f	fā.	s	šīn.
g(a, o, u)	ġain.	t	tā.
h	hā.	v	bā.
j	ǵīm.	x	šīn.
g(e, i)	ǵīm.	y	yā.
l	lām.	z	zāy.
m	mīm.	ñ	nūn + tešdīd.
n	nūn.	ch	ǵīm + tešdīd.

It is seen that *b* and *v* are denoted by the single letter *bā*, as are *s* and *x* by *šīn*. *P* and *ch* are expressed by doubled forms of the symbols for *b* and *j*, *g(e, i)*, probably because the voiceless sounds, having a greater breath-output than the corresponding voiced sounds, were deemed to be reinforced forms of them. The doubling of any consonant is denoted by a *tešdīd* written above it. The sign called *sukūn* is placed over the final consonant of a closed syllable, and

[1] More literally *en tiebbo, ken salia.*

thus marks the syllabic division of a word. It is a graphic rule in Arabic, that two consonants cannot stand in immediate juxtaposition within a syllable (see Wright, *Arabic Grammar*, 2d ed., I, p. 25). Consequently, when two consonants come together in this way in a Spanish word, the *José* inserts between them a duplicate of the vowel following the second of them: e.g. 2 *d*, *palaze*, i.e. *plaze*; 22 *d*, *rrastarando*, i.e. *rrastrando*.

Vowels and vowel combinations:

a (initial or independent) = the sign *fetḥa* over *elif*.
a (medial or final) = *fetḥa* over the preceding consonant.
e (initial) = *elif* preceded by *fetḥa* + *hemza*.
e (medial or final) = *elif* preceded by *fetḥa*.
i (initial or independent) = *kesra* under *elif*.
i (medial or final) = *kesra* under the preceding consonant.
o, u (initial or independent) = *damma* over *elif*.
o, u (medial or final) = *ḍamma* under the preceding consonant.

In vowel combinations use is made of the consonants *elif*, *'ain*, *wāw* (= *u̯* and *u*), and *yā* (= *i̯* and *i*) as well as of the usual vowel signs. These three consonants are often employed as mere supports for the vowel signs and as lines of demarcation between them.

Z. As Old Spanish *z* appears for *zāy* in loan-words from Arabic, so Arabic *zāy* responds here to the usual written *z* of Old Spanish.

Zāy = Old Spanish *z* from Latin intervocalic c(*e*, *i*):

dezir, etc. 34 (18 *a*, *d*; 21 *b*; 52 *c*; etc.), *cuentradezir* 1 (182 *d*), *maldizio* 1 (130 *d*).

diez 2 (1 *b*; 16 *b*), but 91 *a* has *dieç* with *sīn*.

doze 6 (59 *c*, *d*; 102 *d*; 124 *c*; 186 *b*).

fazer, etc. 73 (9 *a*; 27 *b*; 29 *a*; etc.), *fazienda* 2 (137 *d*; 138 *a*). 82 *c*, *fez* and 154 *d*, *fiz* are the only forms of the verb with final *z*. *Fiz* seems to be the 3d sing. pret., and therefore a mistake for *fizo*, which appears frequently and constantly in the text (cf. 50 *b*; 60 *a*; 66 *b*, *c*, *d*; 67 *a*; etc.).

Where *fez* occurs, the 2d plur. pres. (facitis) is required, so that it can hardly be anything but a mistake (cf. 265 *c*, *hazeys*; 273 *b*, *fazedes*).

30 *c*, *açia* (with *sīn*) is the only case of *ç* in this verb. It must hint at the unvoicing of *z*, a fact certainly accomplished at the end of the 16th century, though not indicated regularly in texts.

jazer, etc. 7 (24 *d*; 34 *d*; 40 *b*; 69 *a*, *d*; 91 *a*; 97 *d*).
lazrar 1 (20 *d*).
luzero 1 (96 *c*).
manzilla 3 (208 *b*; 219 *c*; 222 *c*).
nozio (nocere) 1 (23 *d*).
plazer, etc. 13 (1 *d*; 2 *d*; 5 *b*; etc.).
rrezebid 1 (32 *d*).[1]
vazio 2 (9 *b*; 156 *a*), *vaziar* 1 (276 *c*). 106 *c* has *vaçia* (with *sīn*), which must be due to the same cause as *açia*.
vozes 3 (73 *d*; 234 *b*; 239 *d*), *voz* 1 (272 *a*).

Beside *dieç*, *açia* and *vaçia*, the only other exceptional case is 18 *c*, *çerviçes* (with *sīn*), which may show either assimilation or the absolute unvoicing of *z*. As final *z* probably meant *ts* in Old Spanish, *dieç* may be an exact phonetic reproduction.

Zāy = Old Spanish *z* from Latin intervocalic **ty**:

criazon 5 (59 *d*; 157 *c*; 278 *b*, *c*; 279 *d*).
malezas 1 (286 *d*).
pozo 4 (11 *b*; 22 *d*; 23 *a*; 285 *c*). An exceptional form is 193 *c*, *poço* (with *sīn*), which is to be compared with *açia* and *vaçia*.
pozon (= potionem) 1 (92 *b*).
rrazon 28 (25 *c*; 77 *a*; 126 *c*; etc.), *rrazonar*, etc. 2 (84 *b*; 251 *c*); 265 *d*, *rrazion* is a semi-learned form.
rriquezas 1 (70 *c*).
sazon 7 (59 *a*; 60 *d*; 193 *b*; 207 *b*; 237 *b*; 272 *c*; 298 *b*).
tristeza 4 (191 *c*; 222 *d*; 223 *c*; 292 *c*).
vejez 1 (206 *b*).

Other semi-learned forms like *rrazion* are 193 *d*, *condizion* and 286 *a*, *prezio*.

---

[1] This form is abnormal. The c of recipere received regularly the treatment of initial c(*e*, *i*); see lists on pp. 33 ff.

Zāy = Old Spanish *z* from Latin intervocalic **cy**:

feguza (= **fiduciam**) 1 (124 *b*).
lazos 1 (280 *d*).

Zay = Old Spanish *z* = Latin intervocalic **g**(*i*) or Vulgar Latin intervocalic **c**(*i*):

arreziado (= * **arrigidatum** or * **arrecidatum**; see above, p. 12) 1 (10 *b*).

Zay = Old Spanish *z* from Arabic *zay*:

cafiz 1 (243 *b*). The place-name *Zarayel* (11 *b*) and the personal name *Zaliha* (53 *a*; 62 *a*; etc.) probably belong to this class.

Ç. In loan-words from Arabic, Old Spanish *ç* answers to both *sīn* and *ṣād*. In the *José ṣād* does not appear at all, but *sīn* answers generally to the Old Spanish *ç*.

Sīn = Old Spanish *ç* from Latin (originally) initial **c**(*e*, *i*):

açerca 1 (34 *d*).
çebada 1 (168 *d*).
çeguedad 1 (206 *c*).
çenno (= **cinnum**) 1 (276 *d*).
çertero 5 (96 *d*; 124 *b*; 149 *d*; 235 *c*; 259 *c*), *çierto* 6 (109 *b*; 112 *a*; 115 *d*; 192 *b*; 279 *c*; 299 *d*), *çerteficaban* 1 (217 *b*).
Exceptional cases: with *zāy*, — 99 *a*; 128 *c*; 131 *c*; 290 *c*, *zertero*, 291 *a*, *el zierto*, 254 *c*, *zerteficados*: with *šīn*, which in loan-words gave Old Spanish *x* and here answers constantly to Old Spanish *s* and *x*, — 71 *c*, *sertera* or *xertera*. The last case may well be a scribal mistake due to the easy confusion of *sīn* and *šīn*. As Old Spanish usually unvoiced initial *z*, the use of *zāy* in these exceptional cases must add another suspicion as to the trustworthiness of the *José* as a purely phonological document.
çerviçes 1 (18 *c*).
çibdad 6 (48 *a*; 156 *c*; 211 *c*; 270 *a*, *d*; 278 *d*).
çielo 6 (23 *d*; 40 *c*; 59 *b*; 60 *b*; 61 *b*; 153 *c*); cf. 208 *a*, *selestrial* (or *xe-*) instead of *çelestrial*, which is probably to be accounted for in the same way as *sertera*.
çinta 1 (252 *c*).

ençelar, etc. 3 (15 *b*, *d*; 22 *c*).
ençima 3 (150 *b*; 274 *c*; 275 *c*).

In 73 *b*, *çufrir* for *sufrir*, *sīn* seems to be erroneously used for *šīn*, as *šīn* for *sīn* in *sertera* and *selestrial*.

Sīn = Old Spanish *ç* from Latin c(*e*, *i*) after a consonant:

carçel 3 (124 *c*[1]; 126 *c*; 131 *d*).
merçed 2 (124 *b*; 188 *d*).

In -sc(*e*, *i*) verbs the *s* has disappeared:

amorteçido 5 (14 *b*; 39 *b*; 224 *a*; 236 *b*; 272 *d*).
aclareçio 1 (46 *b*).
conoçer, etc. 7 (189 *c*; 196 *c*; 216 *a*; 217 *a*; 235 *a*; 261 *c*; 276 *b*), *conoçedor* 1 (283 *c*). An exception is 295 *a*, *conozieron*, a mistake showing the real equivalence of *z* and *ç* in the latter half of the 16th century.
conteçido 1 (248 *d*).
creçer, etc. 2 (109 *c*; 299 *a*).
enturbeçio 1 (41 *b*).
falleçer 3 (21 *b*; 41 *c*; 153 *b*).
mereçer 4 (93 *d*; 143 *a*; 160 *b*; 229 *c*).
meçiendo 1 (13 *c*).
naçer, etc. 4 (221 *c*; 222 *d*; 233 *a*; 116 *d*).
obedeçer 2 (88 *b*; 142 *c*).
pareçer, etc. 6 (54 *d*; 104 *d*; 106 *b*; 159 *d*; 217 *d*; 221 *d*).
perteneçer 2 (142 *a*; 160 *c*).

292 *d*, *le entristezedes* for *le entristeçedes* and 120 *c*, *guarezer* instead of *guareçer* are to be classed with *conozieron*, above. In 9 *c*, *cozes* (= calces), the *z* represents Latin c(*e*) becoming intervocalic through an early change of *l* to *u*. 143 *a*, *tu lo mereses* for *tu lo mereçes* must be a mistake in the manuscript of *šīn* for *sīn*.

The Old Spanish analogical *z* (= *ts*) of inchoative verbs is represented by *zāy* in 5 *c*, *fallezcades*; 205 *d*, *agradezco*; and by *sīn* in 141 *b*, *agradeçco*. The first two forms are probably due to conventional transliteration, the last to a phonetic impulse.

---

[1] The text has *z* for *r*; doubtless a mere misprint.

Sīn = Old Spanish *ç* from Latin **ty** after a consonant:

adreçar, etc. 4 (136 *d*; 174 *b*; 212 *a*; 257 *a*).
alçar, etc. 5 (118 *d*; 138 *b*; 139 *b*; 149 *d*[1]; 169 *a*), *ensalçara* 1 (141 *c*), *ençalçado* 1 (287 *a*).
amigança 1 (143 *b*).
caçar 2 (18 *b*; 20 *c*).
començar, etc. 3 (140 *a*; 260 *c*; 267 *a*).
dudança 2 (19 *d*; 143 *c*).
esfuerço 1 (25 *d*), *esforçedes* 1 (120 *c*), *fuerça* 7 (183 *c*; 207 *b*; 266 *c*; 273 *c*; 277 *d*; 284 *a*, *c*), *forçada* 1 (75 *b*).
guiança 1 (143 *a*).
maços (= * **matteos**) 1 (293 *c*).
maldança 1 (143 *d*).
tardança 1 (13 *a*).
terçero 3 (98 *a*; 101 *a*; 179 *b*). An exception is 91 *c*, *terzero*.

To the attraction of the *-ança* abstracts is probably due *verguença* (= * **verecuntiam** for **verecundiam**) 3 (258 *d*; 296 *d*; 298 *a*). For 274 *c*, *mançana*, the *n* seems to have entered into **matianam** before the assibilation of the **ty**, while in *manzilla* assibilation took place first.[2] *Zāy* for *sīn* in 91 *c*, *terzero* and 261 *b*, *anziano* indicates the unvoicing of *z*. *Šīn* for *sīn* in 138 *a*, *adresa* instead of *adreça* is very likely a scribal error.

Sīn = Old Spanish *ç* from Latin **cy** after a consonant:

abraço 1 (33 *d*), *abraçaban* 1 (67 *b*), *abraçaron* 1 (235 *d*).

Sīn = Old Spanish *ç* from Latin intervocalic **cy**:

cabeça 2 (13 *c*; 98 *b*).
enpeçar,[3] etc. 6 (72 *d*; 73 *a*; 112 *b*; 129 *a*; 265 *d*; 276 *a*).
paniçero (= * **paniciarium**?) 7 (91 *d*; 92 *c*; 96 *a*; 97 *a*, *c*; 99 *a*; 101 *c*).
coraçon[4] 3 (100 *d*; 114 *c*; 137 *c*), but cf. *corazon* 12 (59 *b*; 60 *b*; 62 *b*; 74 *d*; 77 *c*; 162 *b*; 207 *a*; 225 *d*; 230 *d*; 234 *a*; 253 *a*;

---

[1] The text has *adalcer*, which seems a mistake for *adalçar*.
[2] Cf. above, p. 8.
[3] See above, p. 50.
[4] See above, p. 49.

262 *b*). *Coraçon*, the prevalent form of our texts, is the sole correct form; *corazon* is thought by Morf (*Litbl. f. germ. u. rom. Phil.*, V, col. 279) to show the attraction of *razon*.

Sīn = Old Spanish *ç* from Arabic *sīn*:

çaga 1 (73 *b*), *çaguero* 1 (7 *a*).

meçquina 1 (89 *c*). *Yuçuf* (6 *d*, etc.) and *Içhac* (171 *c*) must rest upon Arabic forms of these names; so the *Yuçef* of the *Cid.* 212 *c*, *çafumerios*, a derivative from *suffumare*, shows a treatment of the prefix sub-, which may be due to Arabic influence. Cf. above, p. 68.

Sīn = Old Spanish *ç* from a supposed Basque *z*:

eçquerro 1 (174 *c*).

Sīn = Old Spanish *ç* of learned words:

condiçion 2 (144 *a*; 216 *c*); *estançias* 1 (150 *a*); *escançiano* 13 (91 *d*; 92 *c*; 94 *a*; etc.); *gernaçion* (= generationem) 1 (216 *d*); *loaçion* 1 (60 *a*); *maldiçion* 3 (40 *d*; 100 *c*; 132 *c*); *palaçio* 4 (66 *b*; 68 *a*; 133 *d*; 270 *b*); *ofiçio* 3 (94 *d*; 95 *d*; 101 *d*); *preçio* 3 (37 *d*; 57 *c*; 154 *d*); *preçioso* 4 (47 *d*; 80 *c*; 175 *c*; 180 *b*); *preçia* 1 (= * pretiat, 63 *d*); *preçiado* 1 (103 *c*); *salvaçion* 1 (176 *b*); *sestençiando* 1 (144 *b*); *sabençia* 3 (64 *a*; 148 *d*; 162 *c*); *traiçion* 5 (77 *b*; 92 *a*, *d*; 124 *d*; 298 *c*). In view of *condiçion* and *preçio*, the forms *condizion* and *prezio*, already mentioned,[1] may be considered rather as instances of the confusion of *z* and *ç*, than as semi-learned words. 172 *c*, *xenerasion* or *xeneraxion* has its second *šīn* incorrectly written for *sīn*.

Nūn + *sīn* = Old Spanish *nç* developed out of *ns*:

ançi 1 (54 *d*), cf. 76 *d*, *ansi* with *šīn*.

ençalçado 1 (287 *a*), cf. 141 *c*, *ensalçara* with *šīn*. Assimilation will also explain *ençalçado*.[2]

Sīn = Old Spanish *ç* appears in 243 *a*, *albriçias*, which cannot be derived from the Arabic *al-bišara* nor from a -brist- source.[3]

---

[1] Cf. above, p. 161.

[2] See above, pp. 68 ff. The possibility of an error of *sīn* for *šīn* must not be overlooked here.

[3] See above, p. 64.

It is a noteworthy phenomenon that the present participle of *dezir* appears written, never with *zāy*, but with *šīn* in *dixiendo* or *disiendo* 4 (13 *d*; 19 *b*; 31 *c*; 75 *c*) *dixendo* or *disendo* 10 (32 *d*; 36 *a*; 86 *b*; 214 *c*; 228 *d*; 240 *c*; 256 *b*; 259 *c*; 288 *c*; 290 *c*) and with *šīn* + *tešdīd* in *dissendo* 1 (181 *c*). As the attraction of *dixeron dixieron* is to be suspected, these forms are perhaps best written with *x*, except in the single case of *šīn* + *tešdīd*.[1]

Šīn with *tešdīd* = Old Spanish *x* from Latin **x**:

Šīn with *tešdīd*, i.e. double *šīn*, is written in two words which regularly have an etymological *x* in Old Spanish and which are here represented also by *šīn* without *tešdīd*. As the same words appear with *ss* as well as *x* in Berceo's *Vida de San Millan* (*Bibl. de autores españoles*, LVII, 65 ff.), the double *šīn* must mean the double *s* of the manuscript of which this text is apparently a transcript. The cases are

desso 3 (50 *a*; 223 *d*; 276 *b*).
disso 60 (8 *d*; 21 *a*; 40 *a*; etc.). Cf. *Vida de San Millan*, stzs. 16, 80, 84, 85, etc. *disso* beside stz. 135, etc. *dixo*, stz. 106, etc. *desso* beside stz. 43 *dexassen*, stzs. 93, 106 *issio* beside stz. 135 *exir*.
235 *c*, *diçço* is doubtless a mistake of *sīn* + *tešdīd* for *šīn* + *tešdīd*.

Šīn = Old Spanish *x* from Latin **sty**:

aquexar, etc. 3 (108 *c*; 138 *d*; 234 *a*), *quexar*, etc. 5 (30 *b*; 215 *a*; 242 *b*; 244 *d*; 249 *a*), *aquexamiento* 1 (244 *d*). 109 *a*, *aquejado*, with *ǵīm* instead of *šīn*, shows the confusion of *x* and *j*.

Šīn = Old Spanish *x* from Latin **ssy**:

baxos 1 (139 *d*), *baxan* 1 (6 *c*), *baxaron* 1 (6 *c*). 147 *c*, *bajos* with *ǵīm* is a case similar to *aquejado*.

Šīn occurs in 265 *c*, *enoxeys* for the regular *enojeis*, another instance of the late confusion of *j* and *x*.

---

[1] *Dixendo* occurs in the *Libro de Astronomía* of Alfonso X, Vol. I, p. 38, l. 26; cf. F. Hanssen, *Estudios ortográficos sobre la Astronomía*, etc., pp. 29f. P. de Mugica, *Dialectos castellanos montañés, vizcaino, aragonés*, I, p. 9, considers the form to be Montañes.

J, g(e, i).

Ǵīm (= *dž*) appears normally where the Old Spanish has *j, g(e, i)*. The question of mere transcription is again raised by the occurrence of *ǵīm* in words which must have had the *y* sound, although *j* was occasionally written in them, viz. in *jazer* and *ajuntadas*. Dialect possibilities are not to be overlooked, however.

Ǵīm = Old Spanish *j* from Latin **j**:

juntos 3 (211 *b*; 233 *a*; 239 *c*; =junctos), *juntar* 1 (146 *d*), — *ajuntadas* 1 (127 *a*).
joven 1 (142 *c*).
Judas 8 (178 *b*; 274 *a*; 276 *a*; 282 *a*; 288 *a*; 289 *c*; 296 *a*; 298 *a*).
Jesusalem (=*Jerusalem*) 1 (171 *d*).
juro 1 (88 *d*), *jura* 1 (204 *d*).
jazer, etc. 5 (24 *d*; 34 *d*; 69 *a*; 91 *a*; 97 *d*). In this verb the letter *yā* (=*y*) appears once; 69 *d*, *yazia*. The *yā* is regular in *yantar* (78 *d*, etc.) and *mayor* (114 *d*, etc.).

Ǵīm = Old Spanish *g(e, i)* from Latin **g(e, i)**:

aflegido 1 (13 *a*).
angel 2 (49 *b*; 81 *c*).
Egito 1 (165 *b*), *Egipto* 1 (205 *b*).[1]
gente 12 (24 *b*; 48 *a*; 49 *a*; 50 *c*; etc.).
gernaçion 1 (216 *d*).
rregimiento 1 (163 *d*).

The late Spanish confusion of *x* and *j, g(e, i)* is marked by the employment of *šīn* instead of *ǵīm* in 11 *c*, *xazian*; 40 *b*, *xaze*; 34 *a*, 164 *c*, *xente*; 53 *b*, *lixitimo*; 172 *c*, *xenerasion*. Unless *xaze* and *xazian* were dialect forms, their initial sound was *y*, so that *šīn* is not phonetically correct in them, and must be a mere transcript of the misused *x* of a manuscript in Roman characters.

16 *a*, *ajjunharemos* and 271 *a*, *Jjudas* are peculiar. The doubling of *ǵīm*, which appears in them, is the usual device of the scribe of the *José* for the representation of Old Spanish *ch* (*tš*). Here the *tešdīd* was probably written inadvertently. The use of *nh* (*nūn* + *hā*)

[1] In 205 *b* the text writes *Egibto*, doubtless a scribal error.

for *ñ* is noteworthy as an indication of the dialectal origin of the manuscript, which Morf considers Aragonese (*José*, p. vii, and *Litbl. f. germ. u. rom. Phil.*, XI, 34).

Ǵīm = Old Spanish *j*, *g*(*e*, *i*) from Latin **c'l, ly**:

aparejedes 1 (215 *c*).
arveja 1 (31 *d*).
consejo 3 (75 *c*, *d*; 195 *d*).
fijo 3 (22 *b*; 53 *b*; 190 *d*).
majado 1 (208 *a*).
mejor 5 (92 *d*; 173 *b*; 210 *d*; 243 *b*; 257 *b*), *mejoria* 2 (106 *b*; 211 *d*), *mejoremos* 2 (43 *d*; 294 *d*).
merbejos (for *bermejos*) 1 (75 *b*).
ojo 4 (75 *b*; 275 *b*; 288 *b*; 297 *b*).
oreja 1 (185 *b*).
oveja 2 (2 *c*; 12 *b*).
peleja 1 (31 *c*).
semejaban 2 (67 *c*; 150 *b*).
viejo 4 (187 *d*; 189 *a*, *b*; 191 *a*), *vejez* 1 (206 *b*).
muger 6 (51 *a*; 164 *c*; 230 *b*; 237 *c*; 272 *b*; 296 *d*).[1]

Ǵīm with *teśdīd*, which properly denotes Old Spanish *ch* (*tš*), is written in

fijjos[2] 36 (1 *a*; 4 *b*; 4 *c*; 5 *c*; etc.).
consejjo 5 (11 *a*; 65 *a*; 216 *b*; 266 *a*; 280 *b*), *aconsejjo* 1 (27 *d*).
mojjadas 1 (116 *b*).
ovejja 1 (31 *b*).
semejjo 1 (62 *d*).
muǵǵer 2 (230 *a*; 59 *c*).

As all of these words occur also without the *teśdīd*, it might be contended that these latter forms are merely instances of the erroneous and unintentional use of the doubling sign, just as 17 *c*, *fejo* instead of *fecho* and 192 *d*, *ejad* instead of *echad* are instances of its erroneous and unintentional omission. This argument may hold

[1] 79 *d*, *taxantes* for *tajantes* shows *x* and *j* confounded.
[2] The *ǵīm* + *teśdīd* is here transliterated as *jj* and *ǵǵ* (*e*), rather than as *ch*.

true of *mojjadas*, *ovejja*, *semejjo* and *muǧǧer*, but can hardly do so for *consejjo* and certainly not for *fijjo*, this latter being found more often with than without the *teśdīd*, in the proportion of 12 : 1.

The intentional use of double *ǧīm* being clear for *fijjo* and perhaps for *consejjo*, the question arises whether it is a merely arbitrary and unmeaning one, or whether it actually denotes the sound *tš* and indicates the unvoicing of *j* = *dž*, without the loss of the dental element. Examples of double *ǧīm* = an undoubted *tš* are *fecho* 15 (19 *b*; 20 *d*; 42 *d*; etc.), *echar*, etc. 17 (23 *a*; 25 *a*; 61 *b*; 73 *d*; etc.), *mucho* 12 (25 *b*; 26 *d*; 120 *d*; etc.), *dicho* 3 (143 *d*; 193 *d*; 241 *b*).

Ǧīm = Old Spanish *g*(*e*) from Old French or Provençal *dž*:

estrangeros 1 (158 *d*).
linage 1 (183 *b*).
amenages 1 (201 *b*) = *homenages*.
fablages 1 (135 *a*).

Ǧīm = Old Spanish *j* from Arabic *ǧīm*:

toronjas 2 (79 *c*; 82 *a*).

Jewish Testimony.

The Spanish Jews who were driven from the Peninsula in 1492 have retained in their language, which has remained Spanish wherever they have settled, many of the peculiarities of the older speech. "En Turquie, au Maroc, en Algérie, en Tunisie, en Tripolitaine, à Vienne," says Foulché-Delbosc, "les descendants des expulsés de 1492 parlent encore le castillan du XVe siècle, mais non dans toute sa pureté, il faut le reconnaître, altéré qu'il a été par de multiples contacts avec la langue ou les langues dominantes de chaque pays."[1]

---

[1] *Revue hispanique*, I, 28. The sources of information as to Hebrew-Spanish peculiarities here utilized are Cuervo, *Revue hispanique*, II, 30 ff.; Horning, *Lat. C*, pp. 85, 90; Foulché-Delbosc, *Revue hispanique*, I, 22 ff. (*La transcription hispano-hébraïque*) and I, 312 (*Proverbes judéo-espagnols*); Danon, *Revue des études juives*, XXXII, 102, 263 and XXXIII, 122 (*Recueil de Romances judéo-espagnoles chantées en Turquie*, etc.; Perles, *Ztschr. f. rom. Phil.*, XXI, 137; L. Wiener, *Hebraica*, X, 175 ff.; M. Grünwald, *Zur romanischen Dialektologie*; the *Ferrara Bible*. The language spoken by the Spanish Jews in the East is

Chief among the peculiarities thus retained are their sibilant pronunciation of the sounds which in the modern language of the mother-country have become the interdentals *ç* and *z* and the gutturals *j*(*x*) and *g*, and their voiced pronunciation of intervocalic *s*. As they generally have preferred to use Hebrew characters in the literature published by them, we expect to find in their books, newspapers, and other printed matter, a more or less exact phonetic representation of the spoken sounds, and it is therefore profitable to examine their mode of transliteration.

Cuervo has done this for two of the earlier works of their exile, the *Pentateuch*, printed in Constantinople in 1547,[1] and the *Obligacion de los coraçones*,[2] published in Salonica, at the beginning of the 17th century. In both of these texts, *samekh* appears as the equivalent of Old Spanish *ç* in such words as *bendicion*, *principio*, *tercero*, *semejança*, *fuerça*, *alçar*, *aparecer*, *acontecer*, *cabeça*, — *zayin* represents Old Spanish *z* in *dezir*, *hazer*, *yazer*, *vazia*, *amenazar*, *doze*, *plazo*, *luz*, *luzes*, *luzerio*, *esparzir*,[3] etc., — *shîn* answers to Old Spanish *x* in *abaxo*, *dixo*, *bendixo*, — and *gimel* with *raphe* answers to Old Spanish *j* in *ojo*, *hijo*, *abantaja*, *sojuzgar*, as well as to *ch* in *macho*, *leche*, *dicho*, *noche*,[4] being used somewhat inaccurately for the voiceless *tš* sound, because *shîn*, the only other available sign, had no dental value.

The *Pentateuch* uses *sîn* for *s* and *ss* indiscriminately, as in *sea*, *fonsado*, *gruesso*, *brasa*, *vision*, *cielos*, *escuridad*. The *Obligacion de los coraçones* writes *zayin* for intervocalic *s* and *s* before a voiced consonant, as in *cosas*, *seso*, *desde*, *rasgar*, and *sîn* in all other cases of *s* or *ss*.[5]

In modern texts written with Hebrew characters, *zayin* seems to

---

frequently called *Ladino*, but the term is confusing, as it is also applied to other Romance dialects. A warning as to the use of Hebrew-Spanish evidence is given by Baist in *Litbl. f. germ. u. rom. Phil.*, V, 28 ff.

[1] *Revue hispanique*, II, 14.

[2] *Ibid.*, II, 15.

[3] *Ibid.*, II, 47. The spellings of the Hebrew letters used above are those of Davidson's *Hebrew Grammar*, 10th ed., Edinburgh, 1892.

[4] *Revue hispanique*, II, 66.

[5] *Ibid.*, I, 52. As the Hebrew letter was often not pointed in such texts, it must be supposed that it meant *shîn* when used for *x*, and *sîn* when used for *s*.

be uniformly employed for intervocalic *s*, but the non-intervocalic *s*, *ss*, and *ç* are denoted indifferently by *samekh* or *sîn*, which in the earlier period were kept apart, *samekh* being then used for *ç* and *sîn* for voiceless *s*.[1]

The principles of transcription at present in force have been set forth by R. Foulché-Delbosc in his article *La transcription hispano-hébraïque* (*Revue hispanique*, I, 22 ff.). His deductions in the matter of the sibilant sounds are thus stated: "[*zayin*] se prononce comme *z* français et correspond: 1° à *z* espagnol. . . . 2° à *s* intervocalique.[2] . . . 3° à *s* précédant certaines consonnes. . . .

"[*samekh*] se prononce comme *s* initial français. Il correspond: 1° à *c* devant *e*, *i*. . . . 2° à *ç* devant *a*, *o*, *u*. . . . 3° à *sc* devant *e*, *i*. . . . Remarque: Dans un mot composé, *s* dernière lettre du premier composant et *c* première lettre du second sont représentés par [doubled *samekh*]. . . . 4° à *s* au commencement ou à la fin d'un mot. . . . 5° à *s* précédé ou suivi d'une consonne. . . . 6° à *ss*."

Under the caption, "Outre les consonnes qui viennent d'être étudiées, il convient d'en citer cinq autres qui ne sont usitées que dans des mots d'origine non castillane," Foulché-Delbosc remarks: "(*sadi*) se prononce *ts*. . . . (*sin*) a le même son que . . . (*samek*). Les Juifs d'Orient ne font aujourd'hui, dans la prononciation, aucune différence entre ces deux lettres. . . .

"(*chin*) se prononce comme les *ch* du mot français *chercher*. Il correspond: 1° à *x* de l'ancien castillan. . . . 2° à *s* dans certains mots où *s* est suivi du son *k*.[1] . . . 3° à *is* final des deuxièmes personnes du pluriel des verbes, quand *is* est précédé d'une voyelle.[3] . . . 4° à *is* dans le mot . . . *seis*."[3]

"[*gimel* + *zayin*] se prononce *gz*. Ce groupe représente *x* lorsque *x* a le son *gz*. . . . (*djimel* [i.e. *gimel* with the diacritic]) se prononce

---

[1] Cf. *Revue hispanique*, II, 47.

[2] So M. Grünwald, *Zur romanischen Dialektologie: Heft I, Ueber den jüdisch-spanischen Dialekt als Beitrag zur Aufhellung der Aussprache im Altspanischen* (reprint from the *Jüdisches Centralblatt*, Belovar). See a well-merited stricture on this production, by L. Wiener in *Modern Language Notes*, X, 81; cf. *Romania*, XII, 141 and XXVI, 148.

[3] These peculiarities are not Old Spanish. The palatal pronunciation of final *s* is Portuguese.

tantôt *dj* tantôt *tch*: quand il se prononce *dj* il représente soit *g* devant *e*, *i*, soit *j* . . . ; quand il se prononce *tch* il représente *ch*. . . .[1] (*djain* [i.e. *zayin* with the diacritic]) se prononce *dj* et représente *j* ou *g* devant *e*, *i*."

Foulché-Delbosc says that *sīn* is not written in Spanish words, but it seems to occur, so used, in the *Recueil de romances judéo-espagnoles*, published by A. Danon (*Revue des études juives*, XXXII, 102 ff.). When transliterating, Danon has modernized the aspect of the words of these Spanish songs sung in Turkey, but he has also given a few verses in the Hebrew characters, which show the true condition of things. From them it appears that voiceless *s* and *ç* are both denoted by *sīn* and voiceless *s* by *samekh* as well, while Old Spanish *x* is indicated by *sīn* with an accent.[2]

It is noticeable that *ç*, as well as *s*, is usually represented by *samekh* and very seldom by *çadhe*, the true Hebrew dental *s* and the sign used in a 13th century Hebrew-French glossary for Old French *ç* (see *Romanische Studien*, I, 163 ff., esp. p. 165 *força*, i.e. *force*).[3] M. Grünwald (*Ueber den jüdisch-spanischen Dialekt*, etc., p. 33), declares that *çadhe* is never written in Spanish words, but Horning (*Lat. C*, p. 85, note) finds that it appears in at least learned words like *justicia* and *exposicion*. The fact remains, however, that now *ç* generally receives a treatment in no way different from that of *s*.

The expatriated Spanish Jews and their descendants have sometimes published works in Roman characters. One of the most important of these, the Ferrara Bible, first printed in Italy in 1553,[4] presents linguistic features similar to those of the Old Spanish texts

---

[1] Cf. Grünwald, pp. 14 ff.

[2] Cf. Perles, in *Ztschr. f. rom. Phil.*, XXI, 137 ff., who says that, in Grünbaum's *Jüdisch-Spanische Chrestomathie*, Old Spanish *x* is represented by *šīn*.

[3] *Çadhe* appears there also for Old French final *z* (*ts*); see *ibid.*, p. 165. On *çadhe* = Old French *ç*, see also *Romania*, III, 443 ff.; and on the use of the same character for the *ts* sound in Catalan, see the *Histoire littéraire de la France*, XXVII, 540, and L. Wiener, *Hebraica*, X, 182, 186.

[4] According to M. Kayserling, *Biblioteca española-portugueza-judaica* (Strasburg, 1890), who gives an account of the Hebrew-Spanish Bible and its various reprints (pp. 28 ff.). Its language has been investigated by L. Wiener in *Modern Language Notes*, X, 81 ff., XI, 1 ff.

upon which this investigation is based. The reprint of 1630, examined for the present purposes, shows an interesting variation in the plural form of *faz* (= **faciem**), which appears both as *façes* (ff. 1, 2, 2vo, etc.) and as *fazes* (ff. 15, 18vo, 26vo, etc.); cf. above, pp. 48 f.

In a 17th century text with Roman characters, Cuervo finds *z* written for intervocalic *s*: "Aun escribiendo en caracteres latinos, no es raro que los judíos pongan *z* por *s* intervocal: en el *Arbol de Vidas*, glosario hebreo-español de Selomoh de Oliveyra (Amsterdam, 5422–1682) se lee *quezo*, *confuzion*, *brazero*, *cauza*, *dezea*, *deleitozo*, *vizitó*, *rapozo;* pero sin consecuencia, porque ahí mismo se hallan *fuso* y *fuzo*, *rosa*, y, lo que prueba mejor la equivalencia de las dos letras, *lodasal*, *primerisa*, *alquiladiso*, *perdis*" (*Revue hispanique*, II, 52).

In the *Proverbes judéo-espagnols*, the most part of which he has collected from oral tradition in Constantinople, Foulché-Delbosc writes *z* where Modern Spanish has interdental *c*, but Old Spanish had the voiced dental sibilant *z*, e.g. in *haze*, *hazienda*, *hize*, *dize*, *dizen*, *vezino*, *vezindad*, *plazer* (*Revue hispanique*, II, 312 ff.).

In general, though it may not be safe to utilize the Hebrew-Spanish pronunciation for the solution of nice points in Old Spanish phonology, since the exiled Jews have been exposed to many exterior influences in their new settlements, it may be affirmed that that pronunciation corroborates our other testimony to the former existence of voiced and voiceless sibilants that have developed into different sounds in Modern Spanish.

To this Jewish testimony there may be appended a note on a meagre but certainly interesting piece of information from a Greek source.[1] C. Graux, in his *Essai sur les origines du fonds grec de l'Escurial* (Paris, 1880), pp. 63 f., remarks that on the binding of a book which once belonged to the Cardinal of Burgos, the son of Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, there is stamped the name *Don Francisco de Mendotza*. The strange spelling of the famous name Mendoza (Old Spanish *Mendoça*), Graux explains thus: "L'orthographe *Mendotza* révèle que le relieur de Francisco de *Mendoza* était un étranger, qui

[1] To this passage in Graux's work my attention was called by Mr. G. L. Hamilton of the Graduate School.

évidemment prononçait la *Zeta* castillane, comme un *Ze* allemand (*tz*). Il ne faudrait pas se hâter de conclure de là que l'artiste qui fit ces intéressantes reliures fut nécessairement allemand: il arrivait à des Grecs de tomber dans le même défaut de prononciation, puisqu'Antoine Calosynas, déjà nommé, écrivait le nom de Garcia de Loaysa Γαρτζίας. [Foot-note: Τῷ λαμπρῷ ἀρχιδιακόνῳ καὶ κανονικῷ Γαρτζίᾳ Λοάϊσᾳ Ἀντώνιος ὁ Καλοσυνᾶς ἰατρὸς φυσικὸς εὖ πράττειν, lettre-dédicace datée du 19 juin 1574 (*Biblioteca nacional*, O–8, fol. 1)]. Ce relieur étranger, établi en Espagne, peut être un compatriote de Darmarius qui, quelques années plus tard, viendra y vendre des manuscrits grecs, et de Calosynas qui, vers le même temps, y exercera même la médecine." What Graux here regards as a vice of pronunciation on the part of this foreign binder and of the Greek Calosynas, is more justly to be considered an attempt by them at a phonetic rendering of the *ç* of the Old Spanish *Mendoça*, whose sibilant and dental qualities are brought out by the combination *τζ*, *tz*.[1]

---

[1] Additional evidence, at least so far as the *aljamiado* texts are concerned, may perhaps be obtained from an examination of some of the texts mentioned by Eduardo Saavedra in his *Discurso* pronounced before the *Real Academia Española*, December, 1878.

LIST OF BOOKS AND ARTICLES.

ALFONSO EL SABIO. Libros de Astronomía. Madrid, 1863–67.

ARAUJO, F. Fonétika kastelana. Santiago de Chile, 1894.

BAIST, G. Die spanische Sprache. Gröber's Grundriss f. rom. Phil., I, 689 ff. Strassburg, 1888.

——, ed. Das altspanische Dreikönigspiel. Erlangen, 1887.

——, ed. Don Juan Manuel. El libro de la caza. Halle, 1880. Cf. Rom. Forschungen, I, 142 ff.

—— Die hochdeutsche Lautverschiebung im Spanischen. Rom. Forschungen, I, 106 ff.

—— Die arabischen Laute im Spanischen. Ibid., IV, 345 ff.

—— [Various etymologies.] Ztschr. f. rom. Phil., V, 233 ff., 550 ff.; VI, 118 ff., 426; VII, 123.

—— [On the assimilation of *d* to *z* in Spanish.] Ibid., VI, 461.

—— Der Uebergang von *st* zu *z* im Spanischen. Ibid., IX, 146 ff.

BARTSCH, K., and HORNING, A. La langue et la littérature françaises. Paris, 1887.

BAUQUIER, J. Une particularité du patois de Queige (Savoie). Romania, V, 493 ff.

BIBLIOTECA de autores españoles, LVII. Poetas castellanos anteriores al siglo XV.

BOEHMER, E. Un vocabulaire hébraico-français publié par Adolphe Neubauer. Rom. Studien, I, 163 ff.

BONAPARTE, PRINCE L. L. Spanish and Portuguese *-ez*, *-es*. Academy, XXI, 121 ff., 175 ff., 250.

BUGGE, S. Etymologies françaises et romanes. Romania, III, 145 ff.; IV, 348 ff.

CHABANEAU, C. *Z* final en français et en langue d'oc. Revue des langues romanes, V, 330 ff.; VI, 94 ff.

—— *T* final non étymologique en langue d'oc. Romania, VIII, 110 ff.

COHN, G. Die Suffixwandlungen im Vulgärlatein, etc. Halle, 1891.

CORNU, J. Etudes sur le poème du Cid. Romania, X, 75 ff.

ORNU, J. Métathèse de *ts* en *st* et de *dz* en *zd*. Ibid., VI, 447 ff.

—— [Various etymologies.] Romania, VII, 595; IX, 129 ff. (cf. G. Baist in Ztschr. f. rom. Phil., IV, 474 ff.); XIII, 297 ff.

—— *J* espagnol = *j* portugais. Ibid., X, 588 ff. (cf. Ztschr. f. rom Phil., VI, 484, 648).

CORPUS INSCRIPTIONUM LATINARUM.

CUERVO, R. J. Disquisiciones sobre antigua ortografía y pronunciación castellanas. Revue hispanique, II, 1 ff.

—— Tentativas etimológicas. Romania, XII, 105 ff.

DANON, A. Recueil de romances judéo-espagnoles chantées en Turquie, etc. Revue des études juives, XXXII, 102 ff., 263 ff.; XXXIII, 122 ff.

DARMESTETER, A. Deux élégies du Vatican. Romania, III, 443 ff.

DAVIDSON, A. B. Hebrew Grammar. Tenth ed., Edinburgh, 1892.

DEVIC, M. See LITTRÉ.

DIAS, E. Ueber die spanischen Laute *ç*, *z* und *j*. Ztschr. f. rom. Phil., XI, 419.

DICCIONARIO DE LA LENGUA CASTELLANA por la Real Academia. Twelfth ed., Madrid, 1884.

DICTIONARIUM ANTONII NEBRISSENSIS ex Hispaniensi in Latinum sermonem. Granada.

DIEZ, F. Etymologisches Wörterbuch der romanischen Sprachen. Fifth ed., Bonn, 1887. (French translation, Paris, 1874.)

DOZY and ENGELMANN. Glossaire des mots espagnols et portugais dérivés de l'arabe. Second ed., Leyden, 1869.

DU CANGE. Glossarium mediae et infimae latinitatis, ed. L. Favre. Niort, 1883–87.

EGUÍLAZ Y YANGUAS, L. DE. Glosario etimológico de las palabras españolas de orígen oriental. Granada, 1886. Cf. G. Baist in Ztschr. f. rom. Phil., XIV, 223.

ETUDES ROMANES DÉDIÉES À GASTON PARIS, etc. Paris, 1891. Cf. Romania, XXII, 134 ff.

FERRARA BIBLE. Edition of 1630.

FÖRSTER, W. *Enclenque*. Ztschr. f. rom. Phil., I, 559 ff.

—— *Ronci*, *roncin*, etc. Ibid., XIII, 538.

FOULCHÉ-DELBOSC, R. La transcription hispano-hébraïque. Revue hispanique, I, 22 ff.

—— Proverbes judéo-espagnols. Ibid., I, 312 ff.

GEORGES, K. E. Lexikon der lateinischen Wortformen. Leipzig, 1890.

GOLDSCHMIDT, M. Altgermanisches im Spanischen. Lingen, 1887.

GRÄFENBERG, S., ed. Don Juan Manuel. El libro del cauallero et del escudero. Rom. Forschungen, VII, 427 ff.

GRAUX, C. Essai sur les origines du fonds grec de l'Escurial. Paris, 1880.

GRÖBER, G., ed. Grundriss der romanischen Philologie, I, Strassburg, 1888.

—— Vulgärlateinische Substrate romanischer Wörter. In Archiv f. lat. Lexikographie, I–VII.

—— [On the development of a dental element between *s* and a preceding *n*, *ñ* or *l̃*, in Old French and Provençal.] Ztschr. f. rom. Phil., VI, 486.

GRUNWALD, M. Zur romanischen Dialektologie: Heft I, Ueber den jüdisch-spanischen Dialekt als Beitrag zur Aufhellung der Aussprache im Altspanischen. Belovar.

HANSSEN, F. Estudios ortográficos sobre la Astronomía del rei D. Alfonso X. Santiago de Chile, 1895. (Extract from the *Anales de la Universidad* of Santiago de Chile.)

HAVET, L. *Oi* et *ui* en français. Romania, III, 326 ff.

—— *X* espagnol. Ibid., IV, 461.

HOFMANN, K. *Tos.* Rom. Forschungen, I, 138, 326.

HORNING, A. Zur Geschichte des lateinischen *C* vor *e* und *i* im Romanischen. Halle, 1883. Cf. W. Meyer-Lübke in Litbl. f. germ. u. rom. Phil., V, 277 ff.

—— Die Suffixe *ĉius*, *ĉius*. Ztschr. f. rom. Phil., IX, 142 ff.

—— *Anzuelo*, *oison*. Ibid., XVI, 527 ff.

—— See BARTSCH.

HÜBNER, E. Inscriptiones Hispaniae Latinae. Berlin, 1869. (Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum, tom. II.)

JORET, C. Du *C* dans les langues romanes. Paris, 1874.

—— Loi des finales en espagnol. Romania, I, 444 ff.

KAYSERLING, M. Biblioteca española-portugueza-judaica. Strassburg, 1890.

KOERBS, F. Untersuchung der sprachlichen Eigentümlichkeiten des altspanischen Poema del Cid. Frankfurt am Main, 1893.

KÖRTING, G. Lateinisch-romanisches Wörterbuch. Paderborn, 1891. Cf. E. Schwan in Archiv f. d. Studium d. n. Sprachen u. Literaturen, LXXXVII, 110 ff. and G. Baist in Ztschr. f. franz. Sprache, XIII, 179 ff.

LAUCHERT, F., ed. La estoria del rey Anemur e de Iosaphat e de Barlaam. Rom. Forschungen, VII, 331 ff.

LAUCHERT, F., ed. La estoria de los quatro doctores de la santa eglesia. Halle, 1897. (Rom. Bibliothek, XIV.)

LEITE DE VASCONCELLOS, J. Dialectos trasmontanos. Revista lusitana, II, 97 ff.

—— O dialecto mirandez. Porto, 1882.

LENZ, R. Beiträge zur Kenntniss des Amerikanospanischen. Ztschr. f. rom. Phil., XVII, 188 ff.

LIDFORSS, E., ed. El misterio de los Reyes Magos. Jahrb. f. rom. u. eng. Lit., XII, 44 ff.

—— Los cantares del myo Cid. Lund, 1895. (Acta Universitatis Lundensis, XXXI, 77 ff.)

LITTRÉ, E. Dictionnaire de la langue française. Supplément suivi d'un dictionnaire étymologique de tous les mots d'origine orientale par Marcel Devic.

MACKEL, E. Die germanischen Elemente in der französischen und provenzalischen Sprache. Heilbronn, 1887. (Franz. Studien, VI, 1 ff.)

MASPERO, G. Le vocabulaire français d'un Copte du XIIIe siècle. Romania, XVII, 481 ff.

MENÉNDEZ PIDAL, R., ed. Poema del Cid. Madrid, 1898.

MEYER, G. *Zanca.* Ztschr. f. rom. Phil., XVI, 524 ff. Cf. G. Paris in Romania, XXII, 319.

MEYER, P. D'un emploi non étymologique du *t* final en provençal. Romania, VII, 107. Cf. G. Gröber in Ztschr. f. rom. Phil., II, 491.

MEYER-LÜBKE, W. Grammatik der romanischen Sprachen. I–II. Leipzig, 1890–94.

—— Zur Geschichte der lateinischen Abstracta. Archiv f. lat. Lexikographie, VIII, 313 ff.

—— [Note on intervocalic **dy**.] Litbl. f. germ. u. rom. Phil., IX, 303.

—— *Corzo.* Ztschr. f. rom. Phil., X, 172.

—— [Notes on intervocalic **sy** and the change of initial **s** to *x*.] Ibid., XVII, 566.

—— *Mojon.* Ibid., XIX, 99.

MICHAELIS DE VASCONCELLOS, C. Studien zur romanischen Wortschöpfung. Leipzig, 1876.

—— Etymologies espagnoles. Romania, II, 86 ff.

—— Etymologisches. Jahrb. f. rom. u. eng. Lit., XIII, 308 ff.

MINSHEU, JOHN. Spanish Grammar. London, 1623.

—— The Guide into the Tongues. London, 1617.

MISCELLANEA DI FILOLOGIA E LINGUISTICA dedicata alla memoria di NAP. CAIX e UGO A. CANELLO. Florence, 1886.

MOREL-FATIO, A. Recherches sur le texte et les sources du Libro de Alexandre. Romania, IV, 7 ff.

—— Poème barcelonais de l'an 1473. Ibid., XI, 333 ff.

——, ed. Textes castillans inédits du XIIIe siècle. Ibid., XVI, 364 ff.

—— [Review of R. J. Cuervo's *Apuntaciones críticas sobre el lenguaje bogotano.*] Romania, VIII, 620 ff.

MORF, H., ed. Poema de José. Leipzig, 1883.

—— [Review of the *Leyendas de José* of F. Guillén Robles.] Litbl. f. germ. u. rom. Phil., XI, 34.

MUGICA, P. DE. Dialectos castellanos montañés, vizcaino, aragonés: Parte Ia. Berlin, 1892.

—— Gramática del castellano antiguo: Parte Ia, Fonética. Berlin, 1891.

MURET, E. Le suffixe *ise* = *ĭtia*. Romania, XIX, 592 ff.

MUSSAFIA, A. Osservazioni sulla fonologia francese. La formola *tj* fra vocali. Romania, XVIII, 529 ff. Cf. W. Meyer-Lübke in Ztschr. f. rom. Phil., XIV, 260 ff.; A. Horning, ibid., XVIII, 232; id., in Litbl. f. germ. u. rom. Phil., XI, 105 ff.; E. Schwan in Archiv f. d. Studium d. n. Sprachen u. Lit., LXXXVII, 110.

NEUMANN, F. Laut und Flexionslehre des Altfranzösischen. Heilbronn, 1878.

NIEVA, A. PÉREZ GÓMEZ, ed. Colección de poesías de un cancionero inédito del siglo XV. Madrid, 1884.

OUDIN, C. Grammatica hispanica. Cologne, 1607.

OWEN, LEWIS. The Key of the Spanish Tongue. London, 1605.

PARIS, G. Extraits de la Chanson de Roland. Fourth ed., Paris, 1893 (Sixth ed., 1899).

PARODI, E. Saggio di etimologie spagnuole e catalane. Romania, XVII, 52 ff. Cf. W. Meyer-Lübke in Ztschr. f. rom. Phil., XII, 559.

PERCYUALL, R. Bibliotheca Hispanica. London, 1591.

PERLES, F. [A review of the *Jüdisch-spanische Chrestomathie* of M. Grünbaum.] Ztschr. f. rom. Phil., XXI, 137.

PETRI HISPANI DE LINGUA ARABICA libri duo, ed. P. de Lagarde. Göttingen, 1883.

PIMENTEL, F. Cuadro descriptivo y comparativo de las lenguas indígenas de México. Mexico, 1862.

PRIEBSCH, J., ed. Altspanische Glossen. Ztschr. f. rom. Phil., XIX, 1 ff.

RÖNSCH, H. *Solatium.* Rom. Forschungen, II, 462.

RYDBERG, G. Le développement de *facere* dans les langues romanes. Paris, 1893.

SANDER, W. Der Uebergang des spanischen *j* vom Zischlaut zum Reibelaut. Ztschr. f. rom. Phil., XIII, 319 ff.

SCHUCHARDT, H. Vokalismus des Vulgärlateins. Leipzig, 1866–68.
—— Mélanges: Phonétique française. Romania, III, 285.
—— Die Cantes flamencos. Ztschr. f. rom. Phil., V, 249 ff.
—— [On the contamination of *en-* and *ex-*.] Ibid., VI, 425.
—— Romano-baskisches. Ibid., XI, 474 ff.
—— Romano-magyarisches. Ibid., XV, 88 ff.
—— [Various etymologies.] Ibid., XV, 237; XVIII, 281.
SCHWAN, E. Grammatik des Altfranzösischen. Second ed., Leipzig, 1893. (Fourth ed., revised by D. Behrens, 1899.) Cf. F. Neumann in Ztschr. f. rom. Phil., XIV, 543 ff.
SIMONET, F. J. Glosario de voces ibéricas y latinas usadas entre los mozárabes. Madrid, 1888.
STORM, J. Englische Philologie. Second ed., 1892.
—— Etimologie. Archivio glottologico, IV, 391 f.
—— Mélanges étymologiques. Romania, V, 164 ff.
TAILHAN, J. Notes sur la langue vulgaire d'Espagne et de Portugal au haut moyen âge (912–1200). Romania, VIII, 609 ff.; IX, 294 ff. Cf. G. Baist in Ztschr. f. rom. Phil., IV, 479.
THURNEYSEN, R. Keltoromanisches. Halle, 1894.
TOLEDO, OCTAVIO DE, ed. Vision de Filiberto. Ztschr. f. rom. Phil., II, 40 ff.
ULRICH, J. Ital. *razza*. Ztschr. f. rom. Phil., XI, 557 ff.
VALDÉS, JUAN. Diálogo de la lengua. Madrid, 1860.
VIANNA, A. R. GONCALVES. Essai de phonétique et de phonologie de la langue portugaise d'après le dialecte actuel de Lisbonne. Romania, XII, 29 ff.
—— Exposição da pronuncia normal portuguesa. Lisbon, 1892.
—— Deux faits de phonologie historique portugaise: mémoire présenté à la 10e session du Congrès International des Orientalistes. Lisbon, 1892.
—— Fonología histórica portuguesa. Revista lusitana, II, 332 ff. Cf. H. R. Lang in Ztschr. f. rom. Phil., XX, 137.
—— Les langues littéraires de l'Espagne et du Portugal. Revue hispanique, I, 1 ff.
VIÑAZA, CONDE DE LA. Biblioteca histórica de la filología castellana. Madrid, 1893.
VOLLMÖLLER, K., ed. El poema del Cid. Halle, 1879.
—— Ein spanisches Steinbuch. Heilbronn, 1880.
—— El Laberinto Amoroso. Rom. Forschungen, VI, 89 ff.
WEBER, E. Ueber den Gebrauch von *devoir*, *laissier*, etc. Berlin, 1879.

WIENER, L. The Ferrara Bible. Modern Language Notes, X, 81 ff.; XI, 1 ff.

—— On the Hebrew Element in Slavo-Judaeo-German. Hebraica, X, 175 ff.

WRIGHT, W. Arabic Grammar. Second ed., Cambridge, 1875.

WULFF, F. Un chapitre de phonétique andalouse. (In the Recueil de mémoires philologiques présenté à M. Gaston Paris. Stockholm, 1889. Pp. 247 ff.)

THE ROUND TABLE BEFORE WACE.[1]

KING ARTHUR'S Round Table is first mentioned by Wace, who in his *Roman de Brut*[2] writes as follows[3]:

Por les nobles barons qu'il ot
Dont cascuns mieldre estre quidot;
Cascuns s'en tenoit al millor,
Ne nus n'en savoit le pior,
Fist Artus la Roonde Table
Dont Breton dient mainte fable:
Iloc séoient li vassal
Tot chievalment et tot ingal;
A la table ingalment séoient
Et ingalment servi estoient.
Nus d'als ne se pooient vanter
Qu'il séist plus halt de son per;
Tuit estoient assis moiain,
Ne n'i avoit nul de forain.
N'estoit pas tenus por cortois
Escos, ne Bertons, ne François,
Normant, Angevin, ne Flamenc,
Ne Borgignon, ne Loherenc,
De qui que il tenist son feu
Des ocidant dusqu'à Mont Geu,
Qui à la cort le roi n'alast,
Et qui od lui n'i sojornast,

---

[1] I wish to express my hearty thanks to Dr. W. H. Schofield for assistance of various kinds in the preparation of this paper. I am also indebted to Professor Kittredge, Professor Marsh, and Dr. F. N. Robinson for helpful suggestions.

[2] Finished in 1155, according to Sir Frederic Madden (*Layamon's Brut*, London, 1847, I, xiii).

[3] No attempt is here made to correct the texts as printed by the various editors.

Et qui n'avoient vestéure
Et contenance et arméure,
A la guise que cil estoient
Qui en la cort Artur servoient.[1]

(vv. 9994 ff.)

Although in this passage Wace declares that he is following Celtic tradition, scholars have hesitated to accept his testimony unreservedly. The silence of the Welsh bards, of the triads, of the tales in the Red Book of Hergest, and of Geoffrey of Monmouth, has been thought to tell strongly against the statement of the Norman poet. Any new light on the question of Wace's source for this legend will therefore be worthy of attention.

It is perhaps best to begin an inquiry into this question by examining the longest and most detailed account we possess of the origin of the Round Table, that given by Laȝamon in his *Brut*, written some fifty years later than the passage in Wace.[2] Laȝamon is, on the whole, a translator of Wace, but he expands Wace's 15,300 lines to 32,250, making many considerable additions consisting of entirely new incident and detail. The longest and perhaps the most curious of these is the account of the Round Table, a translation of which follows.[3]

One Yule-day Arthur was in London and there were come to him men of all his kingdoms, of Britain, of Scotland, of Ireland, of Iceland, and of all the lands that Arthur had in hand; and all the highest thanes with horses and with swains. There were come seven kings' sons, with seven hundred knights; besides the folk that obeyed Arthur. Each had in his heart proud thoughts and esteemed that he was better than his companion. The folk was of many a land; there was much envy; for the one accounted himself high, the other much higher.

---

[1] *Le Roman de Brut*, ed. Le Roux de Lincy, Rouen, 1836–38, II, 74–6. The Round Table is mentioned again (vv. 10555 and 13675), but nothing is added to what the first passage has told us.

[2] About 1205. See Madden, *Brut*, I, xix.

[3] Vv. 22736 ff., II, 532 ff. The translation here given is based on that of Madden, but many minor changes have been necessary in order to avoid obscurities due to excessive literalness. This extract begins at the point where Laȝamon diverges from Wace.

Then men blew the trumpets and spread the tables; they brought water in golden bowls, and soft clothes all of white silk. Then Arthur sat down and by him Wenhaver, the queen; next sat the earls and then the barons; next the knights as men disposed them. The high born men bore the meat first to the knights, then to the thanes, then to the swains, then to the porters, at the board. The people became angered, and blows were rife. First, they threw the loaves while they lasted and the silver bowls filled with wine, and afterwards fists approached to necks.

Then leapt there forth a young man who came out of Winetland; he was given to Arthur to hold as hostage; he was son to Rumaret, the king of Winet. Thus saith the knight to King Arthur: 'Lord Arthur, go quickly into thy chamber, and thy queen with thee, and thy relatives, and we shall decide this combat against these foreign warriors.' Even with the words he leapt to the board, where lay the knives before the sovereign. He grasped three knives and with one smote in the neck the knight that first began the fight, so that his head fell to the ground. Soon the same thane's brother slew another, and ere the swords came he felled seven. There was an exceeding great fight; each man smote another; there was much blood shed, and mischief was among the folk. Then the king came out of his chamber, with an hundred nobles, having helmets and coats of mail; each had in his right hand a white steel sword. Then called Arthur, noblest of kings: 'Sit ye, sit quickly, each man on his life! And whoso will not shall be put to death. Take the man that first began this fight, and put a withy on his neck, and drag him to a moor, and put him in a low fen; there he shall lie. And take all his nearest kin that ye may find, and strike off their heads with your broad swords; carve off the noses of the women that ye may find of his nearest kindred, and let their beauty go to destruction, and so I will utterly destroy the race of which he came. And if I ever again hear that any of my folk, whether high or low, stir up strife on account of this slaughter, neither gold nor any treasure, fine war-horse, nor garment shall ransom him, that he shall not be slain or drawn in pieces by horses — that is the law for each traitor. Bring here the relics and I will swear thereon. So, knights, ye shall swear, that were at this fight, earls and barons, that ye will not break it.' First Arthur swore, noblest of kings; then swore earls, then barons, thanes and swains, that they would never again stir up the strife. Men took the dead and carried them to burial. Afterwards men blew the trumpets, with noise exceeding merry; and each one, whether he was glad or whether he was sorry, took water and cloth and sat down reconciled to the board, for dread of Arthur, noblest of kings. Cupbearers there thronged, gleemen there sang, harps resounded, and the people were merry.

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

was no knight well esteemed nor much assured of his manners, in Wales or in England, in Scotland or in Ireland, in Normandy or in France, in Flanders or in Denmark, or in any land that stands on this side of Mungiu,[1] that was esteemed a good knight or his deeds accounted aught unless he could discourse of Arthur and of his noble court, his weapons, his garments, and his horsemen.

On comparing this account with that in Wace the question arises: From what source did Laȝamon derive this extraordinary and extensive addition? Only two hypotheses are possible.[2] Either it was borrowed, as it purports to be, from Celtic (in this case Welsh) tradition, or Laȝamon (or some person immediately preceding Laȝamon) invented it, following the slight suggestion made by Wace.

Even at the first glance it does not appear likely that the story is of Laȝamon's invention. It is the longest single addition he has made to Wace, and is unique not only in length but also in detail and in local color. Moreover, it is the only one of Laȝamon's additions that he distinctly ascribes to a tale ("hit seið in þere tale"). He elsewhere mentions as his authorities a "book," and even "many books,"[3] but never, as here, a tale.

A more careful examination of Laȝamon's story strongly confirms this first impression. It contains several incidents which are extremely barbarous in character and which can only be explained, it

---

[1] In Wace, "Mont Geu," i.e. Mt. St. Bernard.

[2] A third hypothesis is schematically possible, namely, that L. derived this story from some one of the French romances, which during the fifty years following Wace were full of tales about Arthur. No student of the romances, however, can entertain this view. Varying accounts of the origin of the Round Table occur (as, for example, that Merlin made it in token of the roundness of the world), but all of them are unlike that of L., not only in incident but (what is more important), in tone and setting. Cf. Löseth, *Le Roman en prose de Tristan*, Paris, 1891, pp. 149, 240 ff.; Potvin, *Perceval*, Mons, 1866–71, I, 271; VI, 172 ff.; Furnivall, *Queste*, London, 1864, pp. 65–8. A common form of the story is that Merlin made the table for Uther Pendragon; that Uther bequeathed it to King Leodogran, and that Arthur received it as a wedding present when he married Leodogran's daughter Guinevere. Cf. Hucher, *Le Saint Graal*, Paris, 1875, I, 417 ff.; Paris and Ulrich, *Merlin*, Paris, 1886, II, 60 ff.; Sommer, *Malory's Morte Darthur*, London, 1889, pp. 101, 643.

[3] Cf. *Laȝamon*, ed. Madden, I, 181; II, 27; II, 597; III, 155.

would seem, as survivals, preserved in story, from the primitive manners of early times. A murderous combat with carving knives at the table of a king is not an incident likely to occur to the imagination of a writer of the age of chivalry, anxious to invent a new story about the famous Arthur, whom he regarded as a national hero. Distinct evidence of primitive manners appears also in the savage punishment of the women who were relatives of the instigator of the fight. Mutilation of women of rank by cutting off their noses belongs to the barbarous age described in Irish saga,[1] when warriors were accustomed to appear on dress occasions with the skulls of conquered foes dangling at their belts. It cannot reasonably be regarded as an invention of Laȝamon, or of any person of the period of Wace or Laȝamon.[2]

Since, then, the hypothesis of fabrication by Laȝamon is difficult, not to say impossible, we seem to be driven to the other alternative, that of a source in Welsh tradition. But first we must ask if this is possible. Had the English writer access to Welsh tradition, and does he show any signs of Welsh influence? Both questions are to

---

[1] In a passage from the *Book of Leinster* (printed by Zimmer in Haupt's *Ztschr.*, XXXII, 219), we are told how vengeance was taken on a woman of rank by tearing out her eyes, her nose, her ears, and her braid. (This passage was pointed out to me by Professor Kittredge.) Cutting off a woman's nose was known as a punishment for adultery in primitive times. See Elton and Powell, *Saxo Grammaticus*, London, 1894, pp. xxxii. and 71; and cf. Marie's lay *Bisclavret*, ed. Warnke, *Lais der Marie de France*, Halle, 1885, p. 83, where the husband, who has long been forced by his faithless wife to live as a werewolf, finally takes revenge by biting her nose off. Her children are afterwards born without noses. See also Grimm, *Rechtsalterthümer*, 3d ed., pp. 708–9.

[2] Laȝamon, in fact, shows a tendency to tone down savage details that he found in Geoffrey and Wace. Cf. Geoffrey, x, 9, and Wace, II, 206, where we are told that Hirelgas, in revenge for the death of his uncle Bedver, carried the corpse of the slayer Boccus into the presence of the dead and then hacked it to pieces. L., III, 102 ff., merely says that he slew Boccus. The threat to take Arthur's bones and fasten them on a doorstep is new in L., II, 457, but is attributed to a foreigner, Childric; so in III, 176–7, cruelties are ascribed to Gurmund, the representative of the Saxons. The sole instance (except as above) where L. introduces a bit of savagery and ascribes it to a *Briton*, is in II, 73, where it is only a threat after all, and not comparable to the barbarous punishment ascribed to Arthur in the Round Table passage.

be answered in the affirmative. Laȝamon lived near the border of Wales, on the river Severn, as he himself tells us:

> he wonede at Ernleȝe:
> at æðelen are chirechen.
> vppen Seuarne staþe.[1]

He was therefore almost surrounded by Celtic districts. That he felt the Celtic influences at his door is evident from the changes he makes in the proper names furnished him by Wace. Where the names were little known, he generally adopts Wace's spelling; but in other cases, where the names were no doubt familiar to him from Welsh tradition, he shows a distinct tendency to approximate to Welsh forms. Two or three examples will suffice. Geoffrey's *Ganhumara*, Wace's *Genievre*, becomes in Laȝamon *Wenhauer*. The Welsh form is *Gwenhwyfar*. Geoffrey's *Hoelus*, Wace's *Hoel*, becomes in Laȝamon *Howel*,[2] which is identically the Welsh form. Moreover, Laȝamon seems to have attempted a Welsh etymology for the name given in Geoffrey as *Holdinus*,[3] in Wace as *Holdin*, which he renders *Howeldin*, apparently connecting it with the well-known Welsh name *Howel*.[4] Some lines before the Round Table passage, Wace introduces a phrase, *Romarec de Guenelande* (or *Venelande*),[5] which nowhere occurs in Geoffrey's history. Laȝamon changes the name of the country to *Winet-londe*,[6] showing that he identifies it with Gwynedd, or North

---

[1] Madden, *Laȝamon's Brut*, I, 1, vv. 5–7.

[2] These two examples have been mentioned along with others by Wülcker in an article entitled *Über die Quellen Laȝamons*, Paul and Braune's *Beiträge*, 1876, III, 524 ff.

[3] Otherwise unknown as the name of an Arthurian knight.

[4] Cf. Geoffrey's *Historia*, x, 6; Wace, II, 192; Laȝ., III, 86. It is worth noting that Laȝamon sometimes adds the names of Celtic heroes that are not mentioned in Geoffrey or Wace: e.g., *Gille Callæt*, II, 142; *Patric*, II, 430. Cf. III, 100, where Laȝamon changes Geoffrey's *Hirelgas* (x, 9, Wace's *Hiresgas*, II, 206) to *Riwaððlan*.

[5] Wace, II, 72.

[6] Laȝ. II, 527. The suggestion that *Winet* must be Laȝamon's rendering of *Gwynedd* is due to Professor Kittredge. The name was not recognized by Le Roux de Lincy, who thought it might be *Vinland* (II, 72), or by Madden (III, 382), who, after rejecting *Vinland*, found nothing better to suggest than the *Wineda*

Wales.[1] There are also a number of places where he alters Wace's narrative in such a way as to favor the Welsh side of the story as opposed to the Saxon, thus seeming to indicate that he is following Welsh traditions.[2] It is therefore[3] not only possible but altogether probable that Laȝamon derived this story from Welsh tradition.

We are not, however, dependent upon arguments from antecedent probability. The Celtic origin of this incident can be supported by

---

land of Wulfstan's voyage (see Alfred's Anglo-Saxon version of Orosius, E. E. T. S., 1883, I, 16, 20), a region on the Baltic Sea. In explanation of Madden's idea, it ought to be added that the list of kings in Wace is "Gonvals qui ert rois d'Orquenie, Et Doldamer rois de Gollande, Et Romarec de Guenelande" (II, 72). *Gollande* Madden took to be the island Gothland in the Baltic Sea. It should be noted, however, that the *Brut Tysilio* has at this place "Doldaf vrenin Ysgottlont" (*Myvyrian Archaiology*, London, 1801, II, 320), which makes the geography consistent. Cf. Laȝ., II, 132, v. 13325, where the later text reads *Scotlond* for *Gutlonde* in the earlier MS.

[1] Laȝamon introduces *Winet-londe* again in the Round Table passage "a ȝung mon: þe ut of Winet-londe com" (II, 534). Here of course there is nothing in Wace to correspond. The close connection thus indicated by Laȝamon between Wales and the Round Table story is worth noting.

[2] Besides the examples given by Wülcker, l.c., p. 550, cf. Laȝ., III, 296. Both Geoffrey, xii, 19, and Wace, II, 298, say that the Welsh are all changed and degenerated from the nobility, the honor, and the manners of their ancestors. Laȝamon says: "The Britons moved to the Welsh land and *lived in their laws and their popular manners* and yet they dwell there as they shall do evermore."

[3] Those scholars who have most studied Laȝamon's work agree in thinking that he has from time to time made use of Welsh traditions. Sir Frederic Madden, the editor of Laȝamon's text, says: "That Laȝamon was indebted for some of these legends to Welsh traditions not recorded in Geoffrey of Monmouth or Wace is scarcely to be questioned." (*Brut*, I, xvi.) In a note referring to the Round Table passage Madden adds: "It is by no means improbable that in this narrative one of these popular traditions may have been preserved, since it would appear hardly credible that the whole should be the mere invention of the writer" (III, 383). Cf. ten Brink, *Geschichte der englischen Litt.*, Berlin, 1877, I, 239: "Ueber den Ursprung der Tafelrunde, deren Name zuerst bei Wace auftaucht, theilt Layamon eine anziehende, wie es scheint, echt volksthümliche Erzählung mit, von der die Artussage anfänglich vielleicht Nichts wusste." Cf. Wülk[illegible] *der englischen Litt.*, Leipzig, 1896, p. 81: "[Laȝamon] wohnte dicht [illegible] von Wales und scheint von dort manche Sage gehört zu haben, die [illegible] Dichtung verwertete. . . . Auf welschen Sagen wird die eigentümlich[illegible] wie die 'Runde Tafel' entstanden sei, beruhen."

positive evidence. Tales of quarrels about precedence at feasts are of constant occurrence in Celtic tradition, and are just the sort of thing that Welshmen might have told in regard to any great overlord such as Arthur appears to have been. In Irish literature several good examples of this tendency to quarrel at banquets have been preserved. We are told that in the Hall of the Red Branch, Conchobar's palace at Emain Macha, it was necessary to hang up the champions' swords and shields in a separate house lest the warriors should spring to arms in the course of a friendly banquet.[1] A detailed account of such a quarrel is the *Scél mucci Mic Dáthó*, or *Story of Mac Datho's Pig*.[2]

Mac Datho had a wonderful dog named Ailbe, that both Conchobar, king of Ulster, and Ailill, king of Connaught, desired to purchase with rich gifts. Mac Datho, who was afraid to refuse either of these powerful rulers, sought the advice of his shrewd wife. By her direction he promised the dog to both Conchobar and Ailill, stipulating in each case that the king should come for it in person at the head of his retinue. The rival parties reached Mac Datho's house on the same day. He entertained them, and killed for them his famous pig. At table the question arose who was to carve the dish. After an exchange of angry words among the various champions present, Cet of Connaught, knife in hand, seated himself before the pig and challenged any one to deny him the place. One after another the most renowned heroes of Ulster arose, but Cet was able to remind each of some defeat that either he himself, or his father, or his brother had sustained at Cet's hands. In this way Cet shamed the whole province, and was about to proceed with the carving, when Conall the Victorious burst into the hall. After some words, he also denied Cet's right to the place he occupied. 'It is true,' said Cet,

---

[1] D'Arbois de Jubainville, translating from the *Book of Leinster;* see his *Cours de Litt. Celtique*, Paris, 1892, V, 9–10, and for the text the *Facsimile of the Book of Leinster*, published by the Royal Irish Academy, Dublin, 1880, p. 106.

[2] Summarized from the Irish text as printed by Windisch, *Irische Texte*, Leipzig, 1880, I, 96–106. The MS. is the *Book of Leinster*, which is as old as 1150. Kuno Meyer has published an English translation based on a later MS. (*Hibernica Minora*, Oxford, 1894, pp. 57–64). For a French translation, see d'Arbois de Jubainville, *Cours de Litt. Celtique*, V, 66–80.

'thou art even a better warrior than I. But if Anluan were in the house, he would match thee contest for contest, and it is a shame that he is not in the house to-night.' 'But he is,' said Conall, taking Anluan's head out of his belt and throwing it at Cet's chest with such violence that it caused blood to spurt from Cet's mouth. After that Conall sat down by the pig, and Cet went from it. Conall took the tail of the pig in his mouth and carved. The men of Connaught received nothing but the two forefeet. At this insult, a bloody combat arose, many were killed, seven streams of gore flowed from the seven doors of the house, and at last even the dog, the object of the contention, was slain.

Still more interesting is the *Fled Bricrend*, or *Feast of Bricriu*.[1] Bricriu "Poison Tongue," prepared a great feast for Conchobar and the nobles of Ulster. He built for the occasion a house after the pattern of the Hall of the Red Branch at Emain, already referred to. Because he knew that he should not be allowed to share the feast on account of his evil tongue, he caused to be built for himself a little chamber, or balcony, from which he could see all that went on.

When everything was ready, the nobles of Ulster arrived in their best array. Bricriu thought only how he could stir up strife. He went to Loegaire with flattering words, and suggested that he ought to demand the hero's portion (*curathmir*) at the banquet. He did the same with Conall the Victorious and with Cuchulinn. At length the guests entered the house, the men occupying one half and the women the other. Musicians played till the feast began. Bricriu was then obliged to leave the hall, and, accompanied by eight men

[1] Summarized from the Irish text as printed by Windisch, *Irische Texte*, I, 254–303. The text and translation of George Henderson, *Fled Bricrend*, Irish Texts Society, Vol. II, London, 1899, have been compared. For a French translation, see d'Arbois de Jubainville, *Cours*, V, 80–148. The MS. is the *Lebor na hUidre*, dated by Zimmer before 1106 (Kuhn's *Ztschr.*, 1887, XXVIII, 417). The story must be much older; indeed Zimmer says: "Die Niederschrift des Textes ist sicher so alt wie das 8. Jahrhundert" (*Gött. gel. Anz.*, 1890, p. 519, footnote). Henderson (l.c., p. xviii) regards the language as of the 9th century, but thinks the story may be much older. Cf. Windisch, l.c., p. 253, speaking of the several stories that make up the *Fled Bricrend*: "Ich sehe keinen genügenden Grund, daran zu zweifeln, dass uns in den Einzelsagen wirklich echte Bilder einer vorchristlichen Cultur erhalten sind."

with drawn swords, he retired to his chamber. Food was now served in the hall, but the charioteers of Loegaire, Conall, and Cuchulinn, arose one after the other and demanded the hero's portion, each for his master. Words were exchanged, and presently swords and spears began to clash. Conchobar and Fergus were displeased at the strife. They stepped between the combatants and enforced quiet. Sencha recommended that the hero's portion be divided equally among the three claimants, and that the decision which was the greatest champion be referred to King Ailill of Connaught. This advice was followed, and all ate, drank, and were merry for a time. But the dispute afterwards arose again, and the three claimants betook themselves to Connaught to secure the decision of King Ailill. He put them through a series of adventures against strange monsters, in which Cuchulinn fared best, and at length, calling Loegaire aside, he gave him a bronze goblet as a token of superiority. Later he gave a goblet of *findruine* to Conall and one of gold to Cuchulinn. Presently, at a feast, the question of precedence arose. Loegaire confidently produced his bronze goblet and claimed the hero's portion. When Conall, and finally Cuchulinn, stepped forward with their tokens, there was much bitterness. Swords were drawn and the interference of Conchobar and Fergus was again necessary to prevent bloodshed. The claimants at length set off to prove their superiority in a fresh series of adventures, in which they are still engaged when the MS. suddenly breaks off.[1]

---

[1] Zimmer has already drawn a parallel between the *Fled Bricrend* and the Round Table (*Gött. gel. Anz.*, 1890, pp. 518, 519, foot-notes). The points he has made are: that at the Feast of Bricriu, as at Arthur's feasts, women were present; that the claimants of the hero's portion went through a series of manifold adventures to prove their valor, exactly in the manner of Arthurian knights; and, finally, that the feasts of Irish antiquity were commonly held at great yearly festivals, just as Arthur's were: "Die Maiversammlungen der Arthursage sind durchaus im keltischen Altertum begründet." Zimmer has added the significant remark: "Gerade in einem Texte wie diesem liegen *unkünstlerische* Parallelen, wie wir ursprüngliche kymr.-breton. Arthurerzählungen uns denken müssen." Here is suggested a point worth insisting on. It is not true, as has been sometimes carelessly maintained, that the chivalrous setting in which Arthurian stories have come down to us disproves their foundation in rude antiquity. A primitive story may be beautified and adorned as civilization advances, and may, so to speak, change its cos-

Striking evidence that a tendency toward strife at feasts was an early Celtic failing is given by a curious passage among the fragments of Posidonius.[1] The Celts, he tells us, are accustomed to indulge in single combats at their feasts; for, being assembled in arms, they go

---

tume in accordance with the fashion of later times. For example, the argument of Le Roux de Lincy, in so far as it attempts to prove that the Round Table had no source or pattern among the primitive Celts, contains this fallacy. "L'établissement d'un ordre de la Table-Ronde par le chef cambrien Artur est une fable qui ne peut pas être antérieure au XIe siècle, époque où le régime féodal développé vit naître ces institutions guerrières et religieuses auxquelles on donna le nom de chevalerie" (*Brut*, Rouen, 1838, II, *analyse*, pp. 162–3). Many cases are known in which rude incidents have been dressed up in the chivalrous costume of later times. The French *Horn et Rimenhild*, e.g., represents the same story as the cruder English *King Horn*, only "expanded by many couftly details of feast and tournament" (Ward, *Catalogue of Romances*, I, 455). Zimmer is of the opinion that the development of the Round Table has been influenced by the Charlemagne cycle. "Eine Umgestaltung der Arthursage unter Einfluss der Charlemagnesage ist Arthurs Tafelrunde nach dem Muster von Charlemagne und seinen 12 Pairs." *Gött. gel. Anz.*, 1890, pp. 829–30. Cf. W. Golther, *Ztschr. f. vergl. Litteraturgeschichte*, 1890, III, 218: "Wir möchten in dem zwölfsitzigen Tische eine Nachahmung der Abendmahlstafel Christi annehmen. Die zwölf auserwählten Artusritter vermochten sich im bretonischen Epos leicht einen hervorragenden Platz zu gewinnen, da sie an den 12 Pairs von Frankreich ein altbekanntes Vorbild hatten."

[1] Carl Müller, *Frag. Hist. Graecorum*, Paris, 1849, III, 259: Κελτοὶ ἐνίοτε παρὰ τὸ δεῖπνον μονομαχοῦσιν· ἐν γὰρ τοῖς ὅπλοις ἀγερθέντες σκιαμαχοῦσι καὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἀκροχειρίζονται, ποτὲ δὲ καὶ μέχρι τραύματος προΐασι, καὶ ἐκ τούτου ἐρεθισθέντες, ἐὰν μὴ ἐπισχῶσιν οἱ παρόντες, καὶ ἕως ἀναιρέσεως ἔρχονται. Τὸ δὲ παλαιὸν φησιν ὅτι παρατεθέντων κωλήνων τὸ μηρίον ὁ κράτιστος ἐλάμβανεν· εἰ δέ τις ἕτερος ἀντιποιήσαιτο, συνίσταντο μονομαχήσοντες μέχρι θανάτου. The fragment is preserved by Athenæus, iv, 40, a third-century writer. Posidonius' information about the Celts seems to have been gained in journeys that he made before 90 B.C. to Spain, Massilia, and Gallia Narbonensis. Some writers say that he also visited Cornwall. Cf. J. Rhŷs, *Celtic Britain*, London, 1884, pp. 8, 45. To prove this two assumptions are necessary: first, that the detailed account of the tin trade in Cornwall, given by Diodorus Siculus, v, 22, is based on Posidonius; and second, that the latter would not have given so much detail unless he had actually visited the region described. Cf. Toepelmann, *De Posidonio Rhodio Rerum Scriptore*, Bonn, 1867, p. 10, who fixes on B.C. 130–46 as approximate dates for Posidonius. A parallel between Posidonius and the *Fled Bricrend* was hinted at by d'Arbois de Jubainville in his *Cours de Litt. Celtique*, Paris, 1892, V, 82, and more recently he has compared the strife for the hero's portion in Posidonius with that in the

through the exercise, and aim sham blows at each other, sometimes going so far as to wound each other, and, in consequence of thus losing their tempers, they even proceed to slay one another, unless prevented by the bystanders. In old times, he continues, the strongest warrior received a particular portion, and if his right to this was disputed a deadly combat arose.[1]

When we reflect that this interference of the bystanders is a prominent feature of Laȝamon's account, as it is also of the Irish *Fled Bricrend*, the probability that we have in Laȝamon a genuine Welsh folk-tale approaches certainty. Such detailed coincidence can hardly be accidental.

Rhŷs has remarked[2] that the existence of a table in connection with Arthur is probably a more important fact, as proving that he was "originally a culture hero," than the existence of a *round* table. However this may be, we are not without hints that a round table may have been actually used by the Celts in their primitive feasts. Posidonius tells us[3] that Celts banquet around wooden tables slightly elevated above the ground, and when many are assembled "they sit in a circle and the bravest sits in the middle like the leader of a chorus; because he is superior to the rest either in his military skill, or in birth, or in riches; and the man who gives the entertainment sits next to him, and then on each side the rest of the guests,

---

Fled Bricrend and *Scél mucci Mic Dáthó*, see *Cours*, Paris, 1899, VI, 52 ff. Cf. Aubertin, *Hist. de la Langue et de la Litt. franç.*, Paris, 1883, I, 311; Windisch, *Irische Texte*, II, 1, 171; Henderson, *Fled Bricrend*, pp. xiii, xiv.

[1] Diodorus Siculus, perhaps following Posidonius, gives a similar account of quarrels at Celtic feasts (v, 28, ed. C. Müller, Paris, 1842, I, 271): *Εἰώθασι δὲ καὶ παρὰ τὸ δεῖπνον ἐκ τῶν τυχόντων πρὸς τὴν διὰ τῶν λόγων ἅμιλλαν καταστάντες, ἐκ προκλήσεως μονομαχεῖν πρὸς ἀλλήλους παρ' οὐδὲν τιθέμενοι τὴν τοῦ βίου τελευτήν.*

[2] *Arthurian Legend*, Oxford, 1891, p. 9.

[3] Carl Müller, *Frag. Hist. Graecorum*, III, 260: *Κελτοὶ τὰς τροφὰς προτίθενται, χόρτον ὑποβάλλοντες, καὶ ἐπὶ τραπεζῶν ξυλίνων, μίκρον ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς ἐπηρμένων. . . . Ὅταν δὲ πλείονες συνδειπνῶσι, κάθηνται μὲν ἐν κύκλῳ, μέσος δ' ὁ κράτιστος, ὡς ἂν κορυφαῖος χοροῦ, διαφέρων τῶν ἄλλων ἢ κατὰ τὴν πολεμικὴν εὐχέρειαν, ἢ κατὰ τὸ γένος, ἢ κατὰ πλοῦτον· ὁ δ' ὑποδεχόμενος παρ' αὐτὸν, ἐφεξῆς δ' ἑκατέρωθε κατ' ἀξίαν ἧς ἔχουσιν ὑπεροχῆς. Καὶ οἱ μὲν τοὺς θυρεοὺς ὁπλοφοροῦντες ἐκ τῶν ὀπίσω παρεστᾶσιν, οἱ δὲ δορυφόροι κατὰ τὴν ἀντικρὺ καθήμενοι κύκλῳ, καθάπερ οἱ δεσπόται, συνευωχοῦνται.* (From Athènæus, iv, 36.)

according as each is eminent or distinguished for anything." Tradition and archæology tend to show that a circular form was the rule in primitive Irish architecture.[1] It is absolutely certain that the primitive Celtic wattle house both in Gaul and in Ireland was circular.[2] In such a house, consisting of course of only one room, a circular seating arrangement would be inevitable.[3] The suggestion is worth making, that perhaps the Celtic custom of banqueting in a circle and the habit of using a round table, were determined in the first place by the exigencies of the primitive round wicker house. It is significant on this point that the seating arrangement described

---

[1] Such is the opinion of George Petrie (*On the History and Antiquities of Tara Hill, Trans. of the Royal Irish Acad.*, XVIII, *Dept. of Antiquities*, 1838, p. 184), based on the testimony of the ruins. Cf. O'Curry, *On the Manners and Customs of the Ancient Irish*, London, 1873, III, 31, who, from the fact that the old document called *Crith-Gablach*, in describing the houses allotted to various princes and to the king, gives but one dimension (l.c., III, 480, 491, 499, 508), argues that these buildings must have been round. Cf. also W. K. Sullivan in his *Introduction* to O'Curry, I, cccxlvi.

[2] Pictures of Celtic round houses occur on the monuments (see O'Curry, l.c., I, ccxcviii ff.), where are illustrated several circular houses copied from the so-called Colonne Antonine in the Louvre. Strabo says that the inhabitants of Gaul "have large round houses constructed of boards and wicker work and covered with a heavy thatch roof" ("*τοὺς δ' οἴκους ἐκ σανίδων καὶ γέρρων ἔχουσι μεγάλους θολοειδεῖς, δροφον πολὺν ἐπιβάλλοντες*"). Strabo, iv, 3, ed. Müller and Dübner, Paris, 1853, pp. 163–4. Nearly all of the descriptions of ancient Irish palaces suggest the idea of roundness; they are indeed so much alike that their language may be in part merely conventional. These passages have been collected by J. O'Beirne Crowe, *R. I. A. Irish MSS. Series*, I (1870), i, pp. 141, 160–1; cf. Petrie, l.c., pp. 197 ff. So far as I know, no one has denied that some of these palaces were circular. Kuno Meyer (Hull, *Cuchullin Saga*, London, 1898, p. 289) and Henderson (*Fled Bricrend*, p. 146), for example, agree that at least Medb's palace at Cruachan was of that form.

[3] That is, in view of the fact that it was customary for every one to sit with his back toward the wall and to insist that no one come between him and the fire (Sullivan in O'Curry, I, cccl, following a passage in the *Lebor na hUidre*). Sullivan further describes the interior of a round palace: "The fire was in the centre of the house. There was but one door." The couches went all round the room from one side of the door to the other. "The royal seat was behind the fire and fronting the door" (p. cccxlix). "The great men sat on either side of the king against the wall" (p. cccl).

for the Irish oblong house[1] is one suited to a circular apartment and perhaps points back to the more primitive round wattle house, being totally unlike the Germanic arrangement.

It appears then from sources so widely separated as classical antiquity and Irish saga, that a tendency to quarrel about precedence at feasts was a universal Celtic failing, and that the use of a round table, possibly to obviate these disputes, was widely known and probably also Pan-Celtic.

Since these incidents appear to be Pan-Celtic, they must have been known in Britain, and stories embodying the idea of the Round Table must have existed in Welsh saga. The only argument that can be urged against this obvious deduction is that based on the silence of Welsh writers.[2] *Argumenta ex silentio* are seldom formidable, and in this case they lose their importance when one recollects how little Welsh literature that can be called old has been preserved. There is no comparison in this respect between Welsh and Irish.[3] It is but natural, therefore, that we should be obliged to turn to Irish literature for our accounts of this matter.

Moreover, the silence of Welsh authorities is not absolute. Traces of a tendency to quarrel about position at table do occur. No one

---

[1] By Keating, who wrote about 1630: "The form of their banquet halls was long and narrow, with tables at both sides of the house. . . . The lords of territories, however, had a choice of the two sides ; and the leaders or captains occupied the other ; while the *ollamhs* and chief poets, historians, genealogists, judges, musicians, etc., occupied the upper end ; and the attendants who waited on the guests, the lower." Quoted from O'Curry, II, 14–15. For descriptions in the *Book of Leinster* and the *Yellow Book of Lecan* of the oblong hall at Tara, see Petrie, pp. 204 ff. ; cf. Henderson, p. 146.

[2] Cf. Zimmer, *Gött. gel. Anz.*, 1890, p. 795 : "Dieser Zusatz [Wace's mention of the Round Table] kann sich doch schon aus dem Grunde nur auf *die aremorikanischen Bretonen beziehen*, weil eben die *welsche* Arthursage die Tafelrunde nicht kennt." See also Golther, *Geschichte der deutschen Litt.*, Stuttgart, 1893, I, 148 : "Gottfried und die wälsche Sage wissen nichts von der Tafelrunde. Wace ergänzte demnach hier aus der bretonisch-französischen Sage."

[3] Brugger seems clearly wrong in his recent remark : "Der Zeugnisse, dass in Grossbritannien der Glaube an das Fortleben Arthurs existierte, sind sehr wenige ; für Wales selbst sind gar keine gefunden worden, *trotzdem wir doch einen grossen Teil der wälschen Litteratur und Volkssagen kennen.*" *Ztschr. f. franz. Sprache u. Litt.*, 1898, XX, 98. (The italics are mine.)

can read the laws of Hywel Dda,[1] in which all the officers of the royal palace have their seats in the hall very particularly assigned to them, without feeling sure that such pains would not have been taken unless experience had proved it necessary in order to avoid quarrels about precedence.

Everything, therefore, tends to show that Laȝamon has preserved a genuine Welsh tale, and this view is absolutely demanded by the detailed coincidences between his account and the kind of story common in Irish saga. The Round Table itself, with its magical qualities plainly hinted at by Laȝamon (for though it will seat sixteen hundred men and more, Arthur is told that he can carry it with him on his journeys wherever he rides), is closely analogous to the magic cauldrons, magic bushels, and magic horns so often mentioned in Irish banquet tales.[2] No doubt Laȝamon's words mean

---

[1] These laws were composed about 940, and they exist in a MS. said by Zimmer (*Gött. gel. Anz.*, 1890, p. 812) to belong to the twelfth or thirteenth century. The section on "appropriate places" in the Code for North Wales is as follows (*Anc. Laws and Inst. of Wales*, Record Com., London, 1841, p. 5): "There are fourteen persons who sit on chairs in the palace; four of them in the lower portion, and ten in the upper portion. The first is the king; he is to sit next the screen; next to him the canghellor; then the osb; then the edling; then the chief falconer; the foot-holder on the side opposite to the king's dish; and the mediciner, at the base of the pillar opposite to him, on the other side of the fire. Next to the other screen, the priest of the household to bless the food and chaunt the 'Pater'; the silentiary is to strike the pillar above his head; next to him the judge of the court; next to him the chaired bard; the smith of the court on the end of the bench before the priest. The chief of the household is to sit at the lower end of the hall, with his left hand to the front door; and those he may choose of the household with him; and the rest on the other side of the door. The bard of the household is to sit on one hand of the chief of the household; the chief groom next to the king, separated by the screen; and the chief huntsman next to the priest of the household separated by the screen." With this should be compared the statement on page 3, which reminds us of Arthur's celebration of the great yearly festivals: "Three times in the year the twenty-four officers are entitled to receive according to law their woollen garments from the king and their linen garments from the queen. Namely at Christmas, Easter and Whitsunday."

[2] Cf. the *Serglige Conculaind*, or *Sick-Bed of Cuchulinn*, Windisch, *Irische Texte*, I, 218, ll. 23–4 (from the *Lebor na hUidre*). Loeg finds at the fairy palace of Labraid, "Dabach and do mid medrach Oc a dáil for in teglach, Maraid

that the table would seat any number, however great, without crowding, just as the magic cauldron in Celtic story will feed an indefinite number. It is natural to suppose that the Welsh ascribed to Arthur a magic table, just as we know they attributed to him a magic ship, mantle, sword, lance, shield, and dagger.[1]

---

beós, is búan in bes, Conid bithlan do bithgrés." That is, — "A cask there with joyous mead, With its share for the people of the house, It remains ever, the custom is perpetual, So that it is always full continually." *Echtra Cormaic i Tir Tairngiri*, *Irische Texte*, III, i, 187–8, from a fourteenth century MS. "[This cauldron] used to return and deliver to every company their suitable food. . . . Moreover, no boiled meat was found therein save what would supply the company, and the food proper for each would be taken thereout. It was this kind of cauldron that Cormac then had at Tara." Stokes' trans., pp. 205–6. Cf. *Aidedh Ferghusa* (printed by S. H. O'Grady, *Silva Gadelica*, London, 1892, I, 248, from a fifteenth century MS.), where King Iubhdan is represented as having a full set of magical belongings, a spear that brings good fortune, a shield that allows none carrying it to be wounded, a cloak ever new, a belt that keeps off diseases, etc.

[1] *Kulhwch and Olwen*, ed. Rhŷs and Evans, *Red Book of Hergest*, I, 105. Arthur says: I will give anything in the world "except my ship; and my mantle; and Caletvwlch my sword; and Rongomyant my lance; and Gwynebgwrthuchr my shield, and Carnwenhan my dagger, and Gwenhwyvar my wife." The name of the ship was *Prytwenn* (l.c., pp. 132, 136–7). We are not told much about it, but one may guess that it was like Odin's ship Skíðblaðnir. See Snorri's Edda, *Gylfaginning*, chaps. 43, 44: "The sons of Ivaldi made Skíðblaðnir and gave the ship to Freyr; it is so great that all the gods (*æsir*) can find place in it with their weapons and equipment, and it has a favorable wind as soon as the sail is hoisted, wherever it shall go; but, when he does not want it for a sea voyage, it is made of so many pieces and with such cunning that he may fold it together like a cloth (*sem dúk*) and put it in his pocket." Cf. *Ynglingasaga*, 7 (ed. Finnur Jónsson, p. 18), *Grímnismǫl*, 44, where it is said to be the fastest of ships. Modern Celtic popular stories abound in such ships. See Curtin, *Hero Tales of Ireland*, Boston, 1894, p. 249, where a staff thrown into the sea becomes a ship. It can be put back into a staff again and carried in the hand. See also W. Larminie, *West Irish Folk-Tales*, London, 1893, p. 53; Douglas Hyde, *Beside the Fire*, London, 1890, p. 137, where a magic thimble can be thrown into the water, there to become a splendid ship. Cf. *Waifs and Strays of Celtic Tradition*, London, 1889–91, II, 59, 349; III, 147, 289; J. F. Campbell, *Popular Tales of the West Highlands*, Edinburgh, 1860, I, 58, 237; II, 439, 469. For the sake of completeness, cf. also Arthur's mantle, mentioned among the thirteen rarities of the isle Britain (Jones, *Welsh Bards*, London, 1802, II, 47). It made the wearer invisible. Arthur's magic sword Caliburnus and lance Ron (Geoffrey's

The way in which the feast in Laȝamon is continued after the slaughter has been made to cease and the dead have been carried out and buried finds a curious parallel in the *Bruiden na hAlmaine.*[1] This is an account of a combat at one of Finn's banquets, in which more than eleven hundred of those present were slain. It relates that, after the restoration of peace and order, "the dead were carried out and buried in deep wide-sodded graves. Then the great house was cleansed and every one seated himself again in order of nobility and patrimony." Thus the banquet was continued for fourteen days more. Parallels[2] such as these put the Welsh origin of the Round Table story in Laȝamon beyond any reasonable doubt.

Something ought now to be said of the account of the Round Table given by Wace. The relation this bears to the corresponding passage in Laȝamon is apparent when once it is admitted that the tale is borrowed from Celtic saga. Wace evidently knows the whole story, but for some reason does not choose to tell it, probably because he does not find it in Geoffrey's famous history. He contents himself, therefore, with giving a mere summary, which by itself is not very clear, but every word of which is explained when the complete tale as given by Laȝamon is compared. Laȝamon, who tells

---

Historia, ix, 4) are well known.— Geoffrey also assigns to Arthur a marvellous shield *Priwen.* It may indeed be that he has here simply transferred to the shield the name of the king's ship, which he has no occasion to mention. But, in the light of what precedes, it is possible to hold that Arthur's shield and ship may have been identical, and that when the king wished to pass over the sea he had only to place his shield in the water, where it was at once transformed into a spacious vessel. This idea is favored by the connection indicated between Arthur and Avallon, whither he is borne at the last in a mysterious ship.

It should be said that the translation of the Welsh text at the beginning of this note is my own. Loth's translation of the passage (*Les Mab.*, I, 200) seems to be defective; for, without any apparent reason, he omits the reference to Arthur's ship.

[1] Printed by S. H. O'Grady, *Silva Gadelica*, London, 1892, I, 336 ff., from a fifteenth century MS. Though this story cannot pretend to the antiquity of the Irish tales previously quoted, it doubtless gives in most respects an accurate picture of early customs.

[2] The presence of women at the feast described by Laȝamon finds parallels everywhere in Irish story, as does also his mention of gleemen and harpers who played at the beginning of the banquet.

the whole story, translates the latter part of Wace's account at a point where it comes in very well. He also quotes Wace's remark that the Britons made many fables respecting Arthur's Round Table, and comments on it, saying that every man who loves another will invent tales about him beyond the truth. Laȝamon is careful to show, however, that he does not regard his account of the origin of the Round Table as one of these "tales beyond the truth" by adding the words,

ah þis is þat soȝȝe
bi Arȝure þan kinge.

That Wace knew the whole story is proved, moreover, by his mention of King Romarec,[1] a name that nowhere occurs in Geoffrey's History. Here again we observe that Wace tells no story about Romarec, but merely introduces him into Geoffrey's list of the kings who became subject to Arthur and gave hostages. Laȝamon, however, gives a detailed account of how *Rumaret*, as he spells the name, was compelled by Arthur to send his eldest son to court as a hostage, and adds that it was this young man, "Rumarettes sone of Winet-londe," who took a leading part in quelling the disturbance at Arthur's feast. It appears probable, therefore, that this Round Table story was known both in Wales and in Armorica, to Wace as well as Laȝamon, though only the English writer tells it in full.

Of course it is theoretically possible to maintain that Laȝamon

---

[1] It looks as if popular tradition had connected Romarec with Arthur, so that Wace felt obliged to mention him for the sake of completeness. The derivation of Romarec is not clear. If the first syllable could be explained in a satisfactory manner, the latter part might be the well-established Welsh name *Meuric*. Cf. W. F. Skene, *Four Ancient Books of Wales*, Edinburgh, 1868, II, 55. It is noteworthy that the *Brut Tysilio* substitutes for Geoffrey's "Sater rex Demetorum" (ix, 12), Wace's "Stater li rois des Surgalois" (II, 97), Laȝamon's "Stater king of Suȝwales" (II, 599), an entirely different name, "Meyric vrenin Dyfed" (*Myv. Arch.* ed., 1801, II, 320), thus representing Meyric as one of the four subject kings who placed the crown on Arthur's head at his coronation. In the text of Wace as printed by Le Roux de Lincy there is a *Rimarec de Cantorbiere* mentioned in verse 10534 (II, 98), but this is probably only a bad reading, for the variants *Kimare* and *Quinmare* are given, while Geoffrey has at this place *Kimmare* (ix. 12), and Laȝ., *Kinmarc* (II, 600).

made up his detailed story out of whole cloth, following the slight hints given by Wace. This hypothesis would oblige us to assume that both Wace and Laȝamon were clever fabricators, and that Laȝamon, at least, was a thorough-going realist of such ability as to deserve comparison with the best modern representatives of the school. Even if this were assumed, the close parallelism between Laȝamon's story and the accounts given by the Greek historian Posidonius and the ancient Irish saga writers, — all of which were of course quite unknown to Laȝamon, — would be little short of miraculous. It is hard to see how any attempt can be made to maintain this difficult hypothesis in the face of the simple and natural explanation that both Wace and Laȝamon knew a widely current Celtic folk-tale which has its foundation in the primitive ages pictured to us by Posidonius and the Irish saga writers. It may therefore be regarded as certain that Laȝamon was following a Welsh folk-tale.

Since the existence of a genuine Welsh tradition about the Round Table may now be confidently asserted, let us see what inferences may be drawn. The most simple and natural inference, one that probably every reader has already drawn for himself, is that Arthur's Round Table must be an early Welsh tradition.[1] This conclusion is so obvious that it will probably not be questioned, except by those who are already committed to the theory of an exclusively Armorican origin for Arthurian stories. It is possible, however, for any one holding such views to contend that, granting the Round Table to be a Celtic institution, the attribution of it to Arthur was perhaps a late affair, and originated in Armorica; that Welsh literature and

[1] There is nothing in Welsh literature that forbids us to think that the Round Table was a Pan-Celtic institution, early associated with Arthur, though it is not contended that it was among the Welsh so prominent a feature of Arthur's story as it became in the later romances. It was probably only one of many magical things that tradition had connected with him, and very likely to the Welsh seemed less important than his ship and his sword. It is not therefore remarkable that the triads and *Kulhwch and Olwen* do not happen to mention it. Compare Arthur's hunt of the Twrch Trwyth. This is alluded to in the so-called *Nennius* (ed. J. Stevenson, London, 1838, § 73), but had it not been for the lucky preservation of *Kulhwch and Olwen* (and that only in a fourteenth century MS.) would anybody have dared assert that the boar hunt was an early Welsh tale about Arthur? Would it not have seemed more likely that the remark in

Geoffrey of Monmouth knew nothing of this connection, and hence did not mention it in their accounts of Arthur; that Wace's *Brut* first brought news of this connection to England; and finally, that Laȝamon, engaged in translating Wace, and already familiar with some Welsh tale about a round table, seized the opportunity to insert this bit of popular tradition into the Arthur story.

Of course such an hypothesis would explain all the phenomena; but it is so complicated and arbitrary that it cannot make headway against the simple and easy explanation that naturally occurs to one, unless it be supported by positive evidence.

Evidence of this kind is not forthcoming, and the hypothesis itself is antecedently very improbable. In the first place, we have seen that a Round Table story appears to be a part of genuine Welsh tradition. The Welsh must have told it about some hero, for the incident is not one that can stand alone. It requires a national chieftain, a Conchobar or an Ailill, as a central figure. Of whom did the Welsh tell it if not of Arthur? Another Welsh hero whom the tale would seem to fit is hardly known. Secondly, the laws of Hywel Dda[1] show that the Welsh as early as the eleventh century had at their courts a highly developed system of precedence, and would certainly be likely in their stories to assign to their national hero a similar arrangement.[2] Thirdly, the Welsh *Kulhwch and Olwen*, which is

---

Nennius was a mere invention? Who knows how many Welsh stories about Arthur have been lost? No significance can be attached to the fact that the Welsh *Gereint and Enid*, which is supposedly a prose working-over of Chrétien's *Erec et Enide*, has omitted all reference to the Round Table. The Round Table is mentioned but three times in all Chrétien's works, twice in *Erec* (vv. 83 and 1689 in Foerster's editions) and once in *Perceval* (v. 9495, ed. Potvin, Mons, 1866, III, 11). *Gereint and Enid* (as well as *Peredur*) at the corresponding places has omitted large sections of the story as given by Chrétien. It is not, therefore, surprising that the Round Table passages have been allowed to drop along with their context.

[1] See p. 198, above.

[2] Zimmer urges as testimony that the Round Table was felt to be Armorican in origin, but not with much confidence, a passage in the Iolo MSS. characterized by himself as a "jüngere Fabelei und Combination," which declares that (about the year 1077) Rhŷs ab Tewdwr returned from a sojourn in Brittany and "brought back with him the institution of the Round Table to Wales, where it had fallen into neglect and had been forgotten" (*Gött. gel. Anz.*, 1890, p. 796, note).

generally admitted to be an early tale,[1] though it does not mention the Round Table, assigns to Arthur a court and a great company of subordinate heroes[2] and thus plainly indicates that he was the kind of prince about whom the Round Table story might well be told. Lastly, the archaic Welsh dialogue between Arthur and Gwenhwyfar, whatever may be thought of Ferdinand Lot's recently expressed idea[3] that the use of the adjective *hir* ('long') does not exclude a reference to the Round Table, certainly represents Arthur as seated at a table, engaged in distributing wine to his companions. It is hard to see how such a hero could have escaped having the Round Table story told of him, if, as seems evident, the institution was known in Welsh tradition.

Without raising the question whether the historical Arthur actually had a round table, it may be fairly left for the reader to decide between the simple and natural view which recognizes the great probability that the figure of Arthur would, like a magnet, attract a

---

[1] Zimmer, l.c., p. 524. Cf. p. 525: "Ich habe schon oben hervorgehoben, dass in Kilhwch um Arthur eine grosse Schaar Helden versammelt ist, wie es sich für den alten dux bellorum ziemt, aber dass eine Tafelrunde im Sinne der franz. Texte unbekannt ist."

[2] Among specified functionaries in *Kulhwch and Olwen* are Arthur's chief huntsmen (p. 110), and Bedwini, the bishop who blessed Arthur's meat and drink (p. 112, ed. Rhŷs and Evans, *The Red Book of Hergest*, Vol. I). Cf. the chief huntsman and the priest who blessed the food, in the laws of Hywel Dda.

[3] The stanza that concerns us is:

Mi a welais wr graddol o faint
Ar fwrdd hir Arthur yn Dyfnaint
Yu rhannu gwin iw geraint.

Myvyrian Archaiology, I, 175.

Rhŷs's translation is as follows:

I have seen a man of moderate size
At Arthur's long table in Devon
Dealing out wine to his friends.

Arthurian Legend, p. 58.

Lot's remarks are: "Je dois mettre en garde contre le sens du mot *hir*. Son sens propre est bien 'long,' mais il peut signifier aussi, par extension, 'grand.' En sorte que cette *table longue* pourrait très bien être une 'table grande,' de forme quelconque. Et peut-être aurions-nous dans ce vers, où l'on voit Arthur distribuer le vin à ses compagnons ou amis (*ceraint*), une allusion *galloise* à la Table Ronde?" (*Romania*, XXVIII, 1899, 347, note.)

floating Round Table story to itself, and the complex and arbitrary hypothesis before set forth, —an hypothesis which, it must be remembered, requires one to believe that stories of Arthur and stories of a round table existed for centuries side by side without ever mingling, and that finally, when they did come together in Armorica, no word of the connection reached the Brythonic Celts of kindred speech who lived in Cornwall and Wales.

In any case, whether one chooses the natural, or some complicated, hypothesis as to the relation of Arthur to the Round Table, the following points may be regarded as certain, so far as anything not supported by direct testimony ever can be certain. First, the Round Table was a very early Pan-Celtic institution, and is to be added to the list of things that are "gemeinkeltisch"[1]; secondly, Wace was giving a truthful report when he declared that the "Breton" had much to say respecting Arthur's Round Table; and, finally, when we read Laȝamon's curious tale, we are not following cunningly devised fables, but receiving a simple transcript of ancient Welsh tradition.

ARTHUR C. L. BROWN.

---

[1] Cf. Zimmer, *Gött. gel. Anz.*, 1890, pp. 516–20.

STUDIES AND NOTES

IN

PHILOLOGY AND LITERATURE

VOL. VII

PUBLISHED UNDER THE DIRECTION OF THE
MODERN LANGUAGE DEPARTMENTS OF HARVARD UNIVERSITY
BY GINN & COMPANY, TREMONT PLACE, BOSTON
1900